

# MAGAZINE OF ART

OCTOBER  
1945

## Art in the Third Reich

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.  
PREVIEW—1933

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN  
SURVEY—1945

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ARTS • WASHINGTON, D. C.



# 19th Century American Paintings

## WINSLOW HOMER

1836-1910



Oil Painting on Mahogany Panel, 6" x 8¼". Signed "Homer, 1872." Also initialed W. H. on the stone wall. (Because it has always been protected with glass in a shadow box, this painting is in unusually fine condition.)  
In old hand carved gold frame. \$3,500.

HARRY SHAW NEWMAN GALLERY  
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150 LEXINGTON AVENUE AT 30TH STREET (The Old Print Shop)

New York, N. Y.



# CONTRIBUTORS

ED H. BARR, JR., was director of the Museum of Modern Art from its inception in 1928 until 1943, now holds its post of research director. His prophetic insight on his visit to Stuttgart in 1933 at the very beginning of Nazi rule has been fully demonstrated by time, and we seize this opportunity not only to thank Mr. Barr for the privilege of publishing these articles, but also for his unstinting aid as a member of our editorial board.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN has been attached to General Patton's Third U. S. Army in one capacity or another since the Normandy landings. For the last six months he has been assisting the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Officer. He has been in Germany many times since February, and delights in writing to his friends on the official stationery of high Nazi military functionaries.

## ORTHCOMING:

Our November issue comment from Paris on some of the younger French painters by René Huyghe and Gladys Delmas. In that and future issues, Siegfried Giedion: "Léger in America"; Jakob Rosenberg: "German Expressionist Printmakers"; James MacGillivray: "250 Years of Painting in Maryland"; Eric Mendelsohn: "America Inspires an Architect"; an article by Abraham Rattner; George Hart: "Master Plans for Master Politicians"; Fred Neumeier: "Oskar Kokoschka"; Elizabeth C. S. Land: "Jacob Lawrence"; Joseph Hudnut: "Art and Our Schools."

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# MAGAZINE OF ART

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Articles in the MAGAZINE OF ART represent many points of view. We do not expect concurrence from every quarter, not even among our contributors; we believe that writers are entitled to express opinions which differ widely. Although we do not assume responsibility for opinions expressed in any signed articles appearing in the MAGAZINE OF ART, we hold that to offer a forum in our pages is the best way to stimulate intelligent discussion and to increase active enjoyment of the arts.—EDITOR.

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*Wilhelm Lehmbruck: KNEELING WOMAN, 1911, cast stone, 69½ inches high. Acquired by the Museum of Modern Art in 1931 when it was sold by the Nazis out of the National Gallery in Berlin. They considered Lehmbruck a weak dreamer. Also his style was too "vertikal." Other casts of the KNEELING WOMAN are in the Albright Gallery and the Chrysler Collection.*



# EDITORIAL

## AND A MEMORANDUM FROM JACQUES BARZUN

COLN KIRSTEIN'S article on Nazi painting came in late, and was promptly scheduled for this issue. Then in quick succession came his longer articles on sculpture and architecture (regarded by their author as field notes rather than as products of extended research). In the meantime, the German magazines from which the illustrations are taken were piling up at a great rate in the Museum of Modern Art library, dispatched from wherever in Germany the indefatigable Kirstein could find them. It became obvious that the three articles could be published together, rather than serially, and so we decided to depart from our usual practice and make the October issue an all-European number, with two reports from France to balance the discussion of Art in the Third Reich.

It was at this point that Alfred Barr suddenly recalled four articles he had written in 1933, after witnessing the appalling spectacle of Nazi usurpation in Stuttgart. One of them, on movies, was published in *HOUD AND HORN*, of which Mr. Kirstein was then editor. The other three accumulated bored rejection slips from our best magazines until Mr. Barr, disgusted and discouraged, threw them into a drawer and forgot about them. When he dug them out at our request it became immediately clear that here was the thing to balance the Kirstein articles, instead of the reports from France.

First of all, Mr. Barr's three pieces, printed here exactly as they were rejected in 1933, are an embarrassing reminder of our public apathy that very nearly cost us our civilization. Secondly, they are a reminder that the German painting, sculpture, and architecture which Hitler banished had achieved international prestige for his own country as a center of the visual arts, greater than at any time since the age of Dürer and Holbein, 400 years before. Although Paris names still predominate in most discussions of modern art, it is well to be reminded that the artists and architects mentioned by Mr. Barr are familiar, too—and rightly so. Finally, his articles provide the occasion for reproducing some of the best German works of art exiled by Hitler to the advantage of American collections.

Having made this editorial decision, we discussed it with Jacques Barzun, who concurred at once, and remarked that he had had much the same experience as Mr. Barr. Thinking this experience might serve to summarize the whole issue, we asked him if he would please write it down for us. He did, and here it is:

"It was only a short time after achieving political power that the late German Chancellor turned his attention to art. Indeed his concern with that subject was as much a part of his political plan as the standardizing of the traffic rules, and art came first. I happened to be in Germany at the time, as research fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies, and I could readily follow the development of doctrine. Living in a boarding house in Dresden (on the street named after Clara Schumann!) I was able not only to hear the official pronouncements, which were numerous and emphatic, but also to gauge their effect.

"The condemnation of modern art as decadent was clearly a popular policy. The lower middle class mind was jubilant,

vindicated at last in its hitherto insecure esthetic instincts. The crazy, morbid, bolshevik charlatans who had monopolized the attention of art critics since Picasso were now getting their due. Even better, a clean sweep was being made of their predecessors, the post-impressionists. These feelings were only slightly tainted with Jew-baiting; for as late as the Spring of 1934 there was a large and officially commended Liebermann show in Berlin. But among the party-colored shirts that graced the pension dining room in Dresden, I found only one youth perceptive or courageous enough to tell me he thought bureaucratic art criticism absurd. The rest, on the contrary, stretched the new principles to condemn what was going on next door to them, at the Mary Wigman School of the Dance.

"On returning to the United States in the Fall of '34, I tried to interest my friends, including some magazine editors, in this cultural revolution, and I jotted down the outline of an article about it. But as Alfred Barr had discovered the year before, the importance of the facts and their bearing was generally pooh-poohed. I was told that Nazi esthetics was all propaganda with no teeth in it. Mussolini was instanced as supporting that view; *he* had assailed bourgeois culture and yet he was furthering modern architecture and putting Marinetti at the head of his academy—Marinetti, the arch revolutionist, futurist, . . . and *fumiste*. This was in the happy days when the world thought Hitler a rather ludicrous imitation of the man who had made Italian trains run on time.

"Hence my notion of a significant link between lower middle class cultural standards and Germany's systematic iconoclasm looked fanciful. No study had yet been made of the origins of the Nazi Party, nor of the social and educational level of those who flocked to it earliest. Besides, the prevailing idea of a truly revolutionary culture, a Marxist world of art, obscured the character of Russia's early handling of cultural matters, and lent color to the similar Fascist notion that modern painting, being difficult, non-political, and clearly unpopular, must be decadent—bourgeois rotteness on canvas.

"I put away my notes and even dropped the subject from my conversation until 1937, when the Paris World's Fair gave me a fresh comparative view of German, Russian, Italian, and French art. It was irrelevant to say that exposition art is usually unrepresentative of a nation's best; it is necessarily official art, and in three of the four countries art was now a state monopoly. The state used these works as proofs of its superior strength, broad outlook, and love of genius. The very officialhood of the World's Fair art was the guarantee of my conclusions. So I wrote my essay, bringing my examples and official documentation up to date, and made it into the present Chapter 3 of my book, "Of Human Freedom," published two years later. It is noteworthy that even then friends and readers questioned the conclusions of that chapter, now so completely confirmed by the weight of evidence such as may be found in Lincoln Kirstein's articles.

"The moral is plain: it isn't 'always believe the man who's been there'; I might easily have been deceived. It is rather: 'In times of revolution, art follows politics as the convict follows the guard.'"



# ART IN THE THIRD REICH—PREVIEW 1933

By ALFRED H. BARR, JR.

Written at Ascona, Switzerland, May 1933, after four months in Stuttgart.

## I. "THE BATTLE BAND FOR GERMAN CULTURE"

STUTTGART, the capital of Württemberg, is known to most Americans as a railroad center through which one passes on the way from Paris to Munich. It is a city of less than 400,000 people, conservative, prosperous for these times, bourgeois in atmosphere in spite of its only recently untenanted Royal Palace. The foreigner is astonished by its dozen museums, its theaters, its excellent opera, its profusion of concerts and its quantity of good modern architecture. Though Tübingen, the nearest university, is an hour away, Stuttgart is proud of its intellectual as well as of its artistic life. Even for the average citizen, Schiller, Hölderlin, Hegel, Kant, Feuerbach are something more than the names of Stuttgart streets.

Württembergers are traditionally phlegmatic, and Stuttgart took its revolution very calmly. The National Socialist government established itself with little apparent trouble. Only in a few instances was the dispossessed bureaucracy recalcitrant. Many people knew of some acquaintance who had been granted the "protection" of prison for racial or political reasons but no one seemed to know how many had thus been treated. A small quiet crowd gathered outside of the party headquarters; the flag and flagpole merchants did an enormous business; the swastika was everywhere and one saw the sickle and hammer and the triple arrow only upon the walls of back streets. The surviving newspapers resounded with the glory of the National Resurgence. Rathenau Street, named for a Social Democratic statesman murdered by the Nazis in 1922, was renamed Göring Street; postcards of the Leader, grim of face, his arm raised in the fascist salute, spoke from all shop windows; and there were parades by night and day. In the evening one heard from every other house the strained voices of Hitler or Goebbels shouting over a Berlin microphone. But those who recalled the machine guns of St. Petersburg in 1917, Berlin in 1919, Rome in 1922, Munich in 1923, had little fault to find with the efficient disciplined technique of the Nazis. They were surprised, however, at the thoroughness and rapidity with which the new order invaded every business and profession, every intellectual and cultural activity.

On April the 9th, a little over a month after the National Socialist Revolution, the Württemberg Chapter of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* held its first public meeting. The *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, literally the "Battle Band for German Culture" is an official affiliate of the National Socialist party. Its headquarters are in Munich but it has organized subordinate groups in every important German city. These local groups work hand in hand with the civic governments and with the state ministers of education who in Germany usually supervise general cultural activities as well as schools and universities. In this way the *Kampfbund* with national, state, and local governmental support is able to dominate to an extraordinary degree almost every phase of the cultural life of Germany.

The meeting was held in the smaller of Stuttgart's two civic theatres. We found the theatre crowded. In the seats of honor were the State President of Württemberg, the State Commissar and the *Kultminister* (Minister of Education). Behind them, row on row, sat painters, sculptors, musicians, architects,

teachers, critics and many of the most active amateurs of the arts in Stuttgart. They had been gathered together to hear what was expected of them under the new government.

The orchestra on the stage opened the meeting with Bach's Second Brandenburg Concerto. Then a young man walked from the wings and stood gravely behind the lectern. He opened a copy of the white pamphlet which many of us had bought on entering the theatre. He was Dr. Otto zur Nedden who had been till recently on the faculty of the University of Tübingen but was now making his first appearance as the newly appointed head of the Württemberg *Kampfbund*. The pamphlet was the "*Kulturprogramm im neuen Reich*" which he had edited under the direction of the *Kultminister*. He began to read *Kultminister* Mergenthaler's preface:

"It is an important cultural duty of the regime of the National Resurgence to set free from any foreign, external influence our native creative personalities and by so doing give them the possibility of increasing their vitality. Then our people be enriched by those creators who are summoned to bring German art and culture to a new flowering."

The reader stopped and raised his head. There was silence then hesitant handclapping. He turned the page and in the audience five hundred pages turned:

### "Universities

"The universities and technical schools were in the past the special pride of our people. No country in the world can claim its own so many centers of true spiritual culture. It belongs to the sorriest chapters of the history of the last fourteen years that our universities and technical schools in a mistaken interpretation of the expression "academic freedom" have given a general given way to the spirit of liberalism. But now a new day has dawned! Academic freedom shall and must be preserved. It is the right of the free creative spirit. *But it must be a German academic freedom!* It must never again be misused to open the door to insidious foreign influences. If this misuse should continue, it would lead to the end of academic freedom. Therefore, to take steps to guard academic freedom in the German sense of the word has been and will be one of the most important duties of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*. (The italics in this and other quotations are in the original text.)

This pledge bore the signature of State Counsellor Prof. Dr. Oswald Lehnich of Stuttgart. It was followed with two statements written by Tübingen professors, one on history, another on philosophy. Single sentences convey the import:

"Philosophy, too, is besieged by un-German influences. But now the hour of awakening has struck!" (Prof. Max Wundt)

"Much more than before it will be the duty of the sciences in history to grapple with the problem of the German people's adjustment to foreign cultural influence." (Prof. Adelbert Wahl.)

Then in succession came architecture and poetry, and music and the pictorial arts:

"The widely held contemporary belief that art is international is absolutely misleading."

"What does not issue out of the depths of the spirit with its conscious responsibility toward German culture, is not art in the German sense of the word."

The reading of the manifesto closed with a section on the theatrical arts by the General Director of the Württemberg State Theaters:



"The National Revolution has stirred the deepest depths (*tieftsten Tiefen*) of our people. The reformation of the political life of Germany to its original condition has been achieved. Now will German art and science carry German culture deep to the spiritual life of our people. To build up this great cultural work, to watch over it, to guard its purest springs, is, I see it, the function of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*. With the coöperation of the *Kampfbund* I wish to announce today the first practical step: a prize competition for a play, to have its first presentation on the stage of the Württemberg Theatre."

The audience followed the recitation of these eleven articles of politico-cultural faith with an almost liturgical solemnity. The handclapping following each statement was sporadic. We watched one row of ten listeners carefully: two clapped regularly after every section, but five never clapped at all.

*Kultminister* Mergenthaler himself came upon the stage. Professionally, he had been a teacher in a day school near Stuttgart but now he bore his ministerial rank with convincing dignity. Tall, erect, pale, bald-headed, spectacled, he faced his audience for a moment with an air of confident defiance. When he spoke, harshly aggressive, forcing his voice in Hitler's manner as if addressing ten thousand people in the Town Hall instead of ten hundred in the Kleines Theater:

"It is a mistake to think that the national revolution is only political and economic. It is above all cultural. We stand in the first stormy phase of revolution. But already it has uncovered long hidden sources of German folkways, has opened paths to that new consciousness which up till now had been borne half unawares by the brown battalions: namely, the awareness that all the expressions of life spring from a specific blood, a specific people, a specific race! The consequences of such a discovery are perhaps the most revolutionary that Germany has experienced in a thousand years. Out of this most profound consciousness shall the new structure of German culture arise. And from this it must follow that art is not detached, that it cannot be built into an Internationale, but must be rooted profoundly in the German people and in the heroic attitude of its soul as illustrated by Dürer's engraving of the "Knight, Death, and the Devil" or by a song of Beethoven's or the work of Richard Wagner, which could only spring from the very blood of the German people.

"Art is not international. . . . Nor is there any such thing as international science. What are for the German people the deepest questions and greatest secrets of Nature, are perhaps for a foreign race unimportant . . .

"Therefore, with this conclusion in mind it is inevitable that the Revolution will penetrate just as thoroughly the territories of art, culture and science as it has economic and political activities. If anyone should ask: What is left of freedom? he will be answered: there is no freedom for those who would weaken and destroy German art. Freedom is only for those who carry in themselves the German artistic spirit and a fanatical will to reform.

"The government has no intention of regimenting the creative arts. But on the other hand there must be no remorse and no sentimentality in uprooting and crushing what was destroying our vitals. . . . And if anyone accuses the German Revolution of having no heart then let him take this for an answer: we do what we do because we have a heart for Germans, who have up till now been throttled.

"Upon us falls the holy responsibility to clear for our people the pathways of the cultural realm. For this we live and strive. For this we fight, and we will leave nothing undone in order to make art in Germany German again. To this end we awaken the memory of our great poets. Uhland, Hölderlin, Schiller and Goethe, are our invisible comrades and fellow warriors in the battle for the welfare of German art. And come what may, let this alone be our eternal watchword: *Deutschland, nur Deutschland, ganz allein!*"

The hoarse voice of the *Kultminister* of Württemberg cracked with emotion and stopped. He walked from the stage followed by stormy applause.



Ernst Barlach: SINGING MAN, bronze. Cleveland Museum of Art. Barlach's works were also condemned as "degenerate".

Oskar Kokoschka: SELF PORTRAIT, 1913, oil 32 1/8 x 19 1/2. Museum of Modern Art. Formerly Municipal Museum at Halle.







Paul Klee: NEARLY HIT, oil, San Francisco Museum of Art.

Oskar Schlemmer: BAUHAUS STAIRWAY, c. 1929, oil, 63¼ x 44¼. Bought by an American collector from the Stuttgart exhibition to spite the Nazis, at Mr. Barr's request. Now in the Museum of Modern Art permanent collection and currently on view.



On March 1st the Württemberg *Kunstverein* (Art Society) opened to the public a retrospective exhibition of the work of Oskar Schlemmer in the Stuttgart Civic Gallery. On March 5th the National Socialist party came to power. On March 11th the NATIONAL-SOZIALISTISCHES KURIER published a review of the Schlemmer exhibition. On March 12th the exhibition, which was to have run for a month, was closed and about the same date two paintings by Schlemmer in the Museum of Modern Art, Württemberg Art were taken down and put into storage. These events are not without significance.

Oskar Schlemmer was born in 1888. He first studied painting in the Stuttgart School of Arts and Crafts, then at the Stuttgart Academy, and later in Berlin, Paris and Weimar. After 1926 he became a teacher at the Bauhaus School at Dessau where he organized the Department of Theatre and Architecture with distinguished success. In 1929 he was called to a professorship in the Breslau Academy and in 1932 to the Berlin United State Schools of Fine and Applied Arts.

Professor Schlemmer is the author of "Bühne im Bauhaus" a book on experimental theatre which is known to students all over the world. He is in addition a sculptor, a choreographer, a costume designer, a designer of furniture and, finally, it may be said without exaggeration, one of the twenty best known German painters. While his canvases are (or were) hung in many German museums, his most extensive work is the free decoration in the fountain court of the Folkwang Museum at Essen. In America he is known both through his book and his paintings which have been included in several exhibitions. One of his most important pictures is owned by a New York collector.

Schlemmer's paintings are for the most part arrangements of rather stiff doll-like figures, sometimes used in silhouette as in an Egyptian frieze, sometimes placed in a precise geometrical perspective like pieces on a chessboard. They are painted in transparent glazed colors, principally in deep purple, vermilion, blue, brown and white. Their subjects are sometimes taken from the schoolroom or theatre but more often the title of the picture is simply *Composition III* or *Figure Red* or *People and Architecture*. One might say that Schlemmer's art is decorative, possessed of an exact clarity, detached in spirit, conscientious in craftsmanship, original but somewhat limited both in subject and treatment.

The critic of the NATIONAL-SOZIALISTISCHES KURIER wrote:

"The current exhibition at the Württemberg *Kunstverein* is worth while in several ways. There is discussion—so we hear—as to whether the Schlemmer exhibition ought to be hung at all in these times of returning sanity. Very good! Very good on two counts: first because this discussion shows that many responsible circles are not convinced of the value of this "art," second because it is giving the *Kunstverein* a troubled conscience, and third (sic) because this exhibition is doubtless the last chance the public will have to see painted *Kunstschewismus* at large. Who wants to take these pictures seriously? Who respects them? Who wants to defend them as works of art? They are unfinished in every respect. One may say that in their decadent spiritual attitude they might as well be left on the junk heap where they could rot away unhindered. It is certainly no accident that Oskar Schlemmer belongs to the graveyard of the Dessau Bauhaus and the Breslau Academy.

"Whoever studies this exhibition will discover that Herr Professor Oskar Schlemmer has not had a single new idea since 1931 (sic). All his pictures remain today, just as ten years ago, stuck in the first stages through which any work of art must pass. They are fragments of the most pre-primitive kind, without benefit of organic form or resonant color. And throughout this brutality of form and impossibility of color runs a dissonance of English red and Prussian blue. After the



Carl Hofer: *EARLY HOUR*, oil, Portland Art Museum. In the 1939 Zurich sale of German art exiled from national and municipal museums were 9 paintings by Hofer.



Max Beckmann: *DEPARTURE*, 1937, oil on canvas, three panels, 84¾ inches high. Museum of Modern Art. To get it by the Nazi censors, Beckmann's allegorical picture was inscribed on the back, "Scenes From Shakespeare's 'Tempest'"! The artist spent the last half-dozen years hiding in Amsterdam, and is now safe and at work.







Oskar Kokoschka: ELBE RIVER NEAR DRESDEN, oil. Acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago when banished by the Dresden Gallery

most careful examination there is apparent absolutely no reason why these pictures should be lent to an art exhibition unless it were to show the insolence of the "artist" who has sent such half baked rubbish out on tour as works of art."

This unequivocal attack was published six days after the Revolution. Almost immediately the *Kunstverein* took the hint, removed the Schlemmer paintings to a gallery in the rear of the building and kept them under lock and key so that they could be seen only upon special request. The Museum of Modern Württemberg Art followed suit by hiding its permanently owned Schlemmers. "Protection of the pictures following unfavorable press notices" was the explanation given by the gallery officials. In other words these paintings were treated much as have been the persons who, politically or racially anathema to the new regime, are put in jail, in *Schutzhaft* (protection by imprisonment).

The parallel is not quite exact, for the new government took no direct steps to close the exhibition; nor had the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* any official part in the affair, for it was not yet a controlling power in Stuttgart. Nevertheless the decisive attack was made in the local Nazi paper and in the light of events in other German cities there can be little doubt but that the officials of the *Kunstverein* and Museum were moved to protect themselves more than the pictures.

This affair provokes several questions the answers to which throw some light upon art in relation to the National Resurgence. What is there about Schlemmer's pictures which caused their hasty withdrawal from public exhibition? Had the officials of the two galleries any justification for their

caution? Were there any public or official protests? And finally is the affair an isolated accident or is it characteristic of what is happening elsewhere in Germany?

It is very difficult to find anything of the slightest political significance in the subject matter of Schlemmer's pictures. Their style, however, certainly offended the critic of the *National Kurier* who proceeds further to the assumption that a picture because it seems radical in style is therefore radical politically. Such equations as cubistic-equals-bolshevistic are fairly familiar even in America. He insists too that the paintings are "unfinished" and their colors "impossible" (i. e. "not natural") but it may be noted in passing that these adjectives are very similar to those used by people who were offended by the impressionists in the eighteen seventies, by Manet and Whistler in the 'sixties, by Turner in the 'forties and Constable a century ago. That a similar attack should be made against Schlemmer in 1933 is all the more remarkable when one realizes that he is a post-cubist painter whose work is far easier for the inexperienced person to understand than are the works of the cubists painted twenty years ago.

Schlemmer's career, however, may seem somewhat tarnished from the National Socialist point of view. The Bauhaus where he taught for several years was the center of radical experiment in architecture, photography, ballet, furniture, typography and other arts, and for a short interlude after Schlemmer had left, it had a communist director. But Schlemmer since 1929 has been a professor at the respectable Civic Art School in Breslau and during the past year at the State Art School in Berlin.





Carl Schmidt-Rottluff: RAIN CLOUDS, LAGO DI GARDA, oil. Detroit Institute of Arts. Another exiled painting.

Following the closing of his exhibition several serious and courageous protests were made, one of them by the liberal and highly respected critic of the STUTTGARTER NEUES TAGBLATT. He avoided carefully any direct criticism of the new order of things but maintained that Schlemmer was neither bolshevist nor un-German. A Stuttgart art dealer who is also a doctor of the University of Vienna published a long article exhorting the German museums and *Kunstvereine* to seek the coöperation of the new régime before abandoning their interest in modern art. A third and more weighty protest was made by an official who was at the time a Nazi of good standing. He wrote a letter directly to Hitler, another to Goebbels and a third to the headquarters of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* in Munich. He received no direct reply but was warned that in the future he must watch his step very carefully.

Apparently these letters had little effect in reassuring museum authorities or in restraining the zeal of the new bureaucracy. For shortly afterwards, early in April, the large State Gallery of Art also suffered censorship. Paintings by five of the best known modern artists in Germany have been removed from the walls. Schmidt-Rottluff, Kirchner and Otto Müller belonged to the Bridge Group of expressionists founded about 1906. Paul Klee was one of the Munich Blue Riders of 1912. Otto Dix is the leader of the post-war realists. The work of each of the five has been seen again and again in American

exhibitions. Of the removed pictures only one is questionable in subject matter: Otto Dix's *Arbeiter* is not flattering to the German factory worker nor to the system which produced him.

At first the hiding of these pictures and the closing of the Schlemmer exhibition seemed pusillanimous, but the newspapers began to publish announcements which suggested beyond a doubt that the German museum director who has concerned himself in any way with modern art must act with extreme circumspection. The writer cannot give complete statistics but these events which are doubtless well known in America must have been suggestive to the directors of the Stuttgart art institutions. The museum of Ulm boasted a more advanced group of modern pictures than the Stuttgart museum. The Director of the Ulm Museum has been dismissed. Dr. G. E. Hartlaub of the Mannheim Museum invented the term *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) which was applied to the most advanced group of German painters in the decade after the war. He has also made his museum an important center for those who wish to study modern French as well as modern German art. Dr. Hartlaub has been given an indefinite leave of absence. The directors of the Karlsruhe Gallery, the Düsseldorf Museum, the Cologne Museum of Decorative Arts, the Hamburg Museum of Decorative Arts, the Cologne Museum of Oriental Art have all been given "vacations." The director of the Chemnitz Gallery has been supplanted by a pupil of Pro-



fessor Pinder of Munich, long conspicuous for his zealous patriotism in the interpretation of art history. One of the great German scholars, Prof. Zarzenski, formerly General Director of the Frankfurt museums, has been demoted and his place taken by an academic painter.

As I write, Dr. Max Friedländer, director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin and Dr. Ludwig Justi, director of the National Gallery in Berlin have both been dismissed. Dr. Friedländer, a Jew, is one of the foremost living authorities on Netherlandish and German painting of the 15th and 16th centuries. Dr. Justi, who organized the museum in the former Kronprinzen Palais in Berlin, has been distinguished for his interest in modern German art.

These changes in museum personnel appeared one by one in tiny news items. But the changes in museum installation did not receive even as much notice. One read for instance of the removal of the director of the Nürnberg Civic Gallery but one had to visit the gallery itself to discover what had happened to the objectionable pictures. In Stuttgart we have told how pictures were taken down from the walls of two museums. This occurred on a larger scale in Leipzig and Dresden, while in Frankfurt certain galleries of modern German art are simply locked. But in several cities a more ingenious method is used to express the National Socialists' disapproval of the last twenty years' development in German painting. In the Nürnberg Civic Gallery one passes through the galleries of the 19th century painting without noticing anything unusual. On the second floor two or three conspicuous placards appear beneath paintings. They bear in large black letters the words "For This 'Art' 2500 marks were paid in 1924." The amount varies but the word "Art" is always in quotation marks. On the third floor where most of the recent acquisitions are shown, the labels occur more frequently until in the last room all the pictures are labeled and above the door is an inscription: "Art of the fourteen years system acquired under ex-burghmaster Luppe and ex-museum director Schultz." But certain curious discrepancies are noticeable. A small drawing of Berlin slums by George Grosz is placarded but on the floor below a large portrait of the artist's mother escapes. Otto Dix's portrait of the sinuous dancer Anita Berber is placarded but in the next room a water color of his baby son is passed without comment. Doubtless the explanation in these cases lies not in the style but in the subject matter: babies and mothers are approved subjects; slums and sinuous dancers are not approved.

Such is the fate of some of the directors of German museums who bought and hung too modern pictures; and such is the fate of the pictures themselves. But what of the painters? Their income from sales is of course drastically cut off but some of them have been dealt with more directly. Before the Revolution civic art schools throughout Germany in contrast to those in the rest of the world had enlisted the services of the most advanced artists, rather than depending entirely upon more academic teachers. But this policy has now rendered the progressive painter peculiarly vulnerable for, having a job, he is now liable to lose it. For example, Paul Klee and Oskar Moll have been removed from the Düsseldorf Academy, Otto Dix from the Dresden Academy, the architect Hans Poelzig and the painter Carl Hofer from the Berlin United State Schools of Fine and Applied Art, the same school in which Oskar Schlemmer had been teaching. Schlemmer's fate was somewhat more elaborate. National Socialist students accused him of being a Jew (although he is of pure Suabian blood). His classes became so difficult that finally he asked for some

official confirmation of his position. Instead he has been granted along with Hofer and Poelzig a "vacation."

There is abundant and concrete evidence of what kind of German painting draws upon itself official censure. But exactly what kind of painting is to receive official sanction is not yet quite clear. What seems most thoroughly German to the foreign eye, the expressionism of Schmidt-Rottluff or Klee, the exaggerated realism of Dix and Grosz has been as yet have seen discouraged in every practical way. The pictorial art section of the *Kampfbund* manifesto, while it does not answer this question, illustrates the spirit of the artists who are now being raised to positions of official power. It was written by Professor Waldschmidt, President of the Stuttgart Academy:

"The widely held contemporary belief that art is by and large international is absolutely misleading. Apart from the fact that the great artists of all time were unacquainted with this point of view, this slogan works towards the destruction of the nation's imaginative powers, its noble thoughts and its heroic spirit. Under such a theory all creative art could be centralized under an international dealers' dictatorship which would dominate its spirit entirely.

"For thirty years, in fact, this dictatorship has ruled. Art historians, museum directors, dealers and, to their shame, a large number of artists have reached out their hands to one another in order to bring about a so-called international art language.

"National Socialism has the courage and the will-power to uproot this sorry lack of character which has been based upon opportunism. That some few better talents may be swept away during the process is quite beside the point. Any halfway measure at this time would be a crime against German culture which can only be built anew from the ground up."

Professor Waldschmidt's own painting is less nationalist than his oratory if one may judge by his *Plowman* in the Museum of Modern Württemberg Art. So far as its style is concerned were one to see this large picture in the Carnegie International Exhibition one might take it for Belgian work or Polish or Swedish or Canadian. Plowing is international and as neither the plowman nor his beast wear any clothes there really almost nothing save Professor Waldschmidt's signature to suggest the German origin of his picture.

To accomplish the purpose set forth by Professor Waldschmidt, to "build anew from the ground up," Kultminister Mergenthaler has appointed the *Kampfbund* leader, Dr. zu Nedden, to act as official art supervisor. To coöperate with him an art commission of five has been named which has for artist members Professor Schmidt, a sixty-six-year-old academician and the sculptor Professor Habich whose work shown in the Museum might have been done anywhere in Europe or America were it not for the subject. It is a portrait of *Reichspresident* von Hindenburg.

In this museum where the works of Professors Waldschmidt and Habich are to be seen and from the walls of which the two paintings of Schlemmer were removed an event occurred which may serve as a tail piece for this chapter. Early in May Stuttgart painters and sculptors received an invitation to attend a reception in honor of the Kultminister who had then been two months in office. On the invitation was written "Attendance obligatory." Those who happened to pass by the museum at the appointed hour witnessed an interesting spectacle. Lining the steps on either side of the portal were brown-shirted troops of the National Socialist *Sturm-Abteilung* standing with rifles in their hands. Between their ranks the artists filed.





Franz Marc: BLUE HORSES, oil, 41 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. The companion to this picture, RED HORSES, was among the paintings by Marc included in the 1939 Zurich sale of German art exiled from national and municipal museums—but, because it was saleable, was not destroyed. It is now in a private collection in Cincinnati.

Lyonel Feininger: GLORIOUS VICTORY OF THE SLOOP MARIA, oil. Now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis. Formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Magdeburg. Feininger, an American who had been living in Germany, returned to New York before the war.







*Weissenhof, the suburban development near Stuttgart, and the most important experiment of its kind when it was built 1927. Left to right are Corbusier's double and single houses, Oud's row houses, Gropius's single house, and Miës van der Rohe's apartment house.*

### III. "ATTENTION TO ARCHITECTURE"—1933

Baedecker's "Southern Germany" gives about thirty pages to Stuttgart. The Weissenhof suburb on a hill overlooking the town is described in two lines as "an interesting colony of ultra-modern flat-roofed houses with wide windows, large verandas and roof gardens." But in the history of post-war modern architecture the Weissenhof suburb is perhaps the most important group of buildings in the world. More than that, the Weissenhof is an extraordinary monument to the courage of the Stuttgart city fathers who in 1927 authorized the Württemberg section of the *Deutscher Werkbund* to build the suburb as an exposition of modern architecture, not in mere plans and models, but in full-scale houses which were subsequently to be rented by the city. Mies van der Rohe of Berlin, the director of the exposition, invited sixteen architects of Holland, France, and Germany to furnish designs. Among them were the pioneers who are now famous even in America as the leading architects of the International Style. Le Corbusier and Jean Perret of Paris built two houses, one of them the famous double house with cantilevered second storey; J. J. P. Oud, city architect of Rotterdam, built a group of small row houses. Walter Gropius,<sup>1</sup> at that time Director of the Bauhaus at Dessau, designed two private dwellings and Miës van der Rohe<sup>1</sup> a large apartment house which has been imitated all over Germany.

The exposition had an extraordinary success. The visitors during the first year were estimated at nearly a million which included architects from all over the world as well as many thousands of tourists and casual sightseers. Even now when the novelty and some of the stucco have worn off and the houses have become dwellings the suburb attracts more visitors—and photographers—than any other sight in Stuttgart.

The conservative town received to her bosom this anthology of advanced architecture with very mixed feelings. It became known that the city fathers had been persuaded only after a long campaign to authorize such a radical venture. The pillars of Stuttgart society while acknowledging that the Weissenhof was a powerful magnet to visitors felt a strong dislike for the architecture itself. Although the inexpensive apartments and row houses filled up quickly the larger houses did not attract the well-to-do burgers who preferred the ornate *art nouveau* houses of the 1890's and early 1900's which line the more respectable streets. Finally a cleverly faked postcard of the Weissenhof appeared showing camels and Arabs wandering through the white-walled flat-roofed houses of "Stuttgart's Moroccan Village."

Nevertheless the influence of the Weissenhof architecture began to make itself felt. The year after its completion, Stutt-

gart's first skyscraper was built in the International Style (four years before the same style began to be used for American skyscrapers). Department stores and shops, factories and the civic power plant followed suit. Richard Döcker, one of the two Stuttgart architects of the Weissenhof built at nearby Waiblingen the most modern hospital in Europe. Alfred Daiber designed the huge office building of the Civic Health Insurance Bureau. A dozen private houses in the new style went up and during the past two or three years the majority of the new houses in Stuttgart have been compromises between the new style and conservative tradition. More important still, the architectural division of Stuttgart's Institute of Technology gained the reputation of being the most liberal and advanced of all the officially recognized architectural schools in Germany.

Before the National Socialist Revolution opposition to the new style was primarily personal. But since March 5th there has been ample evidence of official hostility which now amounts practically to suppression.

The most recent Stuttgart building in the International Style is a church designed by the architect Alfred Daiber and actually completed after the Revolution, but before the new régime was sufficiently organized to assert its power over architecture. Architecturally and in its location the church is an extension of the Weissenhof development which doubtless contributes a considerable proportion of its congregation.

The church is a long white-stuccoed two-storied building with a flat roof relieved by a bell tower. At the left of a long façade facing a park is the main entrance surmounted by a simple, very large copper cross applied to the wall. The lower floor is a Sunday school room with smaller committee and kindergarten rooms adjoining. The church auditorium occupies the floor above. To the rear of the church is a small block of living apartments. On March 24th, a few days after the church opened, Stuttgart's largest paper, the *Neues Tagblatt*, printed the following statement, issued by the Stuttgart Chapter of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*. The *Kampfbund*, as has been explained, is an official organization of the National Socialist party.

"The evangelical Church Council has given its sanction to a church with community house which has now been completed upon the Kochenhofgelände under the name of the Brenner Church. German piety and German cultural sensibility will be deeply wounded by this building. In the name of all who have preserved a pure feeling for the spiritual fundamentals of our Christianity and our society, warning must be given against the appearance here of a betrayal of these fundamentals. Neither the principle of efficiency in the combination of church and community house, nor the principle of artistic "freedom" ex-





Photo by Margaret Barr

Modern church at Stuttgart, designed by Alfred Daiber and completed just after the Revolution in 1933. Soon the congregation was to learn that "German cultural sensibility will be deeply wounded by this building . . . the State Minister for Education, who has already publicly taken measures to support German culture, will also direct his attention to architecture."

uses the completion of this public offense. That the board of governors of an evangelical church and an architect in our time of religious and cultural danger should carry through such a building fills every culture-loving German with sorrow. Such occurrences must confirm in the minds of the public the resolution to prevent the reappearance of an art foreign to our people and the irresponsible indifference of our public opinion that could heretofore permit such manifestations to take place.

"We have faith that the State Minister for Education who has already publicly taken measures to support German culture will also direct his attention to architecture."

Four points may be noted in this document: (1) The *Kampfbund* has exaggerated a dislike for a certain architectural style until it becomes "an offense against the spiritual fundamentals of Christianity and society"; (2) It insists upon the "foreign" character of the architecture; (3) It attacks both the architect and the Church council; (4) It recommends that an official of the Württemberg Government take precautions against future offenses.

A fortnight later it was disclosed that the conservative architect Paul Schmitthenner was the principal architectural advisor and spokesman of the *Kampfbund* in Stuttgart. On the morning of April 9th the Stuttgart *Kampfbund* held its first public meeting at which was read a long manifesto on the various arts in relation to the National Socialist Revolution. The section on architecture was written by Schmitthenner.

#### "Architecture"

"The architecture of a period is the best gauge of its general cultural level. The nature of German architecture reveals itself at its most significant in tradition. The more we removed ourselves from tradition and thus from the fulfillment of our duty towards history, manners, and people, the more have we emphasized the utilitarian which in the words of Karl Friedrich Schlegel becomes obnoxious when it is handled without that grace or dignity which alone can make the useful beautiful.

Tradition is not the taking over of exterior forms but the keeping alive of the natural; it is the cultivation and increase of what is characteristic in a significant development. The New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) in architecture is nothing but the utilitarian become form, that very utilitarian spirit which has dominated the contemporary period to such an extent that grace and dignity have been readily sacrificed to an international<sup>2</sup> phantom. But tradition is the foundation of every culture and it can only be born from the very heart of a people. The achievement of a new German architecture depends decisively on the spirit cultivated in our architectural schools. It is, therefore, necessary that our youth be educated in the spirit of a sound tradition."

It is, of course, Schmitthenner's political affiliations which make him a powerful antagonist. But he is also a good architect, one of the best reactionary architects in Germany. Reactionary is an exact adjective, for the best known Germanic architects of before the War: Behrens, Bonatz, Moser, Wagner, Hoffman, Berlage, were already working in a style which would seem advanced in present day America. Schmitthenner's architecture on the contrary is a refined imitation of what was the international style of about a hundred and twenty years ago. He is an Alsatian and his larger private houses if they have any local flavor suggest the Empire châteaux of Alsace and Burgundy. He uses brick covered with light grey, carefully antiqued stucco, occasionally with heavy stone coigns. He has a fine sense of proportion demonstrated by his interiors and carefully symmetrical façades. He prides himself on his craftsmanship and shows a fondness for capricious ironwork. His placing of windows on the side and rear walls would be considered extremely slovenly by the modern architects whom he opposes. All in all his work is well calculated to please the wealthy conservative client; it would not be out of place in Southampton or Brookline but it is definitely neither national nor socialist nor even traditional in any living sense of the





ABOVE: house of Richard Döcker, Stuttgart architect who was ordered by the Nazis to put a gable on a similar dwelling he was building for a client. BELOW: the Schocken Department Store in Stuttgart, built by Eric Mendelsohn in 1926-8, who after the Revolution carried his own interpretation of the International Style to England, Palestine, and finally to America, where he is now at work on a temple in Houston, Texas.



word. Nevertheless, Schmitthenner was mentioned by Commissar Hinkel of the Prussian Ministry of Education in a recent interview<sup>3</sup> as one of the three architects whose work the National Socialists hold up as an example. His reputation is already nation wide.

Schmitthenner is not, however, content with a passive rôle. He was probably not responsible for the *Kampfbund's* attack upon Daiber's church, but in addition to his share in the *Kampfbund's* general art manifesto he has assaulted the International Style in a series of public letters written against the *Werkbund's* proposed 1933 Exposition of Wooden Houses. Called in as a consultant by the National Socialist Community Council which was to have passed upon the *Werkbund's* project, he has succeeded in having the Exposition placed under reactionary control.

The spokesman for the *Werkbund* in this controversy was the architect Richard Döcker who it will be remembered built one of the houses in the Weissenhof Exposition of 1927 and subsequently the large Waiblingen hospital. At the moment of writing Döcker is working on two private houses, both in the International Style. One of them is nearly finished but the other was only half built when he was summoned to the office of the Civic Supervisor of Building and told that he must change the design, abandon the roof terrace and build a gable roof. He protested that his client as well as he himself wanted a flat roof but their objections were overridden. The gabled roof which is quite out of harmony with the rest of the building is now under construction.

Ascona, Switzerland, May, 1933.

<sup>1</sup> Since the late thirties Gropius and Miës van der Rohe have held important positions as teachers of design in the United States, the former at Harvard University, the latter at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. (Editor, 1945)

<sup>2</sup> The "sachlich" or rational style in which the flat roof is a conspicuous element has been associated either with the dwellings of workmen (the proletariat), erected by social democratic civic governments, or with the more expensive houses of the liberal intellectual or professional men. Both these classes are suspect to the solitary citizen who in any case usually looks askance at anything new in art or architecture. The German nationalist feels that the gabled roof is *echt Deutsch* and that the flat roof is "un-German", "bolshévistic" and "international." The hundred per cent German is quite right in asserting that the new style is international but he forgets that almost every European architectural style of the past thousand years has also been international. The romanesque, gothic, renaissance, baroque, neo-classic, the various revivals of the nineteenth century and the post-war international style have spread with more or less strength in most of the important countries of Europe. The joke, however, is on the German nationalist for of all these styles not a single one can be said to have had its origin and its most vigorous expansion in Germany except the last named, the very International Style which he so much resents. The earliest building definitely in the Style was designed by the German architect Walter Gropius and there are probably ten times as many buildings in the Style in Germany as in any other country.

In America one often hears the Style referred to as German. In Italy the Style, which has made immense progress in the last years when not called Fascist is termed "*lo stile tedesco*"—the German style. Three years ago when searching for a new house by Le Corbusier near Paris the writer asked the way, giving a description of the house with white walls, a flat roof and much glass. The Frenchman was puzzled for a moment and then exclaimed, "*Ah vous voulez dire la maison dans le style allemand!*"

<sup>3</sup> *Völkischer Beobachter*, South German Edition, Munich, April 6, No. 97, *Beiblatt*. The other two architects mentioned by Commissar Hinkel are Kreiss and Schultze-Naumburg. Schmitthenner was later appointed director of the United State Art Schools in Berlin in place of the social democratic Poelzig.



# ART IN THE THIRD REICH—SURVEY, 1945

By LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

## PAINTING

PAINTING, sculpture, and architecture in Germany after 1933 were conceived on the principle that no advance could have been made in the expression of the creative impulse since 1870. That is to say, painting could go no further than the hyper-thyroid murals of Feuerbach, sculpture than Rauch's monument to Frederick the Great, and architecture than Gottfried Semper's Dresden Opera. But it is necessary to insist, particularly at this time, on the greatness of the German painting, sculpture, and architecture that preceded Hitler by several centuries, and on the strength of the contemporary German art which he repudiated with the word "degenerate." Stephan Lochner, Schongauer, Dürer, Cranach, Altdorfer, Grünewald, the Holbeins—certainly there is no doubt about their position in the history of western art. Even the Nazis recognized that. Nor will anyone deny that in the 20th century expressionism of Berlin, Dresden and Munich, in the sculpture of Lehmbruck and (to a lesser degree) Barlach, in the surgical satire of Otto Dix and George Grosz, and the work of the Bauhaus—here Germany was in the world's vanguard. But these were not to be the great names in the Nazi lexicon of contemporary art.

It is important to investigate the essential Nazi attitude towards the arts in order to discover how the official architecture of Berlin differs from that of Washington (if indeed it does!), or how WPA painting and sculpture differs from that adorning the airy halls of Hitler-Youth schools.

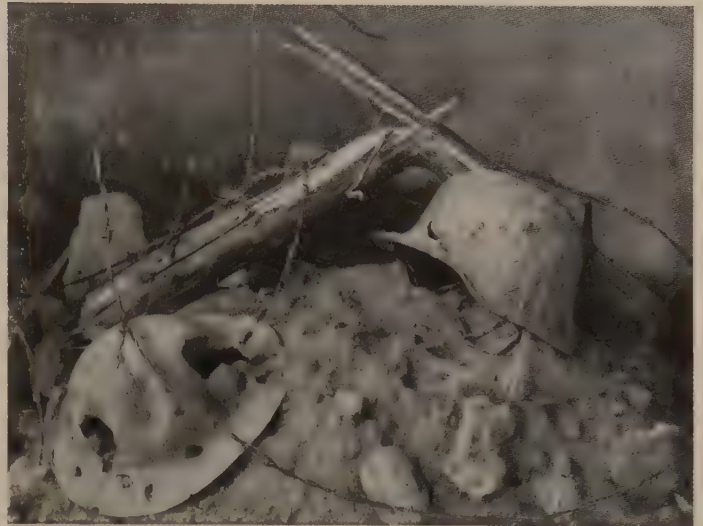
In September 1939, Wystan Auden wrote, "in one of the dives on Fifty-Second Street, uncertain and afraid . . .

Accurate scholarship can  
Unearth the whole offense  
From Luther until now  
That has driven a culture mad,  
Find what occurred at Linz,  
What huge imago made  
A psychopathic God."

Hitler was sixteen when in September 1905 he went to live in Urfahr, a suburb of Linz. He had just received from the Staatsrealschule in Steyr the final report on his formal education. In geometry and geometrical-drawing he achieved only "Adequate." In free-hand drawing, however, in the first semester he was "Praiseworthy," and in the second "Excellent."

He was to be denied entry, first to the Academy of Fine Arts, then to the School of Architecture. His report-card had noted that the "external form" of his written work was "Displeasing." But if he could not write, he could read. In Linz he read the oracle of his failure in Vienna, his triumph in Munich. He discovered the esthetic of Richard Wagner: "Decay and Regeneration," "The Jews in Music." He learned that Wagner hated meat. The subjects for his 1907 entrance examination were: 1st day, "Expulsion from Paradise"; 2nd day, "Episode from the Deluge." Hitler's drawings were returned "Unsatisfactory."

In 1933 Hitler got himself elected and established the Reichskulturkammer under Alfred Rosenberg. Free expression stopped; or rather it was thrown into reverse. Expressionism, surrealism, non-objective painting, the new-functionalism, anything which served as the contemporary channel for the spirit

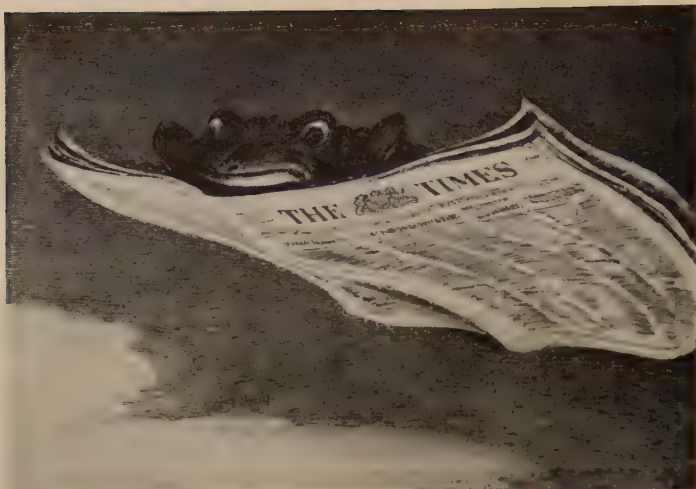


*Albert Henrich: 1917, oil in Hitler's private collection.*

*Fritz Ehrler: REICHSFÜHRER HITLER. Included in the Great German Art Exhibition at the House of German Art, 1939.*







A. Paul Weber: THE LIE. From the book "Britische Bilder."



Battle lithograph by Joseph Arens, commissioned by Hitler.

Willy Krieger: STONES, "Blown up Dürer nature-studies."



of Dürer's or Grünewald's researches, was killed or exiled. The dead soul of that very Academy which had once excluded the frustrated young postcard painter took over. *Entartete Kunst*, "degenerate art," the paintings of Beckmann, Hofmann, Nolde, Heckel, Kokoschka, Klee, Kandinsky, Dix, and Groo were forbidden the walls (but not destroyed; they could still be sold in Switzerland). With fateful smugness, mediocrity triumphed over the German heart and hand. It revenged itself on the imagination. It created an art which was also to serve as the beauty-parlor mask for murder.

Hitler dictated his own Academy. To Hanisch, friend of his misery in Vienna, he confided that he was "an academy painter." The terms and limits of the desired product must be clearly stated. There was to be no confusing personal individualities, as with *entartete Kunst*. This was easy, for the aims of his Academy were not primarily the creation of works of art. They were the production of canvases and statuary which in the eyes of his political leaders, would enhance the prestige of his régime internally. What the rest of the world thought was the least of his worries. The Wehrmacht could take care of that in its own time.

The "degenerate art" exhibition was held in 1937, and Dr. Adolf Dresler's "*Deutsche Kunst und Entartete Kunst*" appeared as its ideological guide. Entrance was free, but children were *verboten*. Pornography was shown as a concomitant of contemporary painting, together with "irreligion" (sic) and "disrespect for German traditions."

The academic program eliminated any liberal creation identifiable with artistic Jewry, Free Masonry, Bolshevism, the Treaty of Versailles, the Weimar Republic, and international imaginative expression in the West. A purge of museums and independent dealers, who had once led the world in presentation and enterprise, was the first step. Replacement by a feeble junta of Aryan mediocrity was the second. The *Kulturkampf* was won, and victory celebrated by the erection of the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich, to take the place of the old Glaspalast, which had burned. On July 18, 1937, Hitler personally opened the initial "*Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*." These annual salons were the focus of the world of Nazi painting and sculpture through 1944. Hitler's code still remains in bronze over the entrance: "Art is sublime, a fanatical obligation." (*Kunst ist eine erhabene und zum Fanatismus verpflichtende Mission.*)

Dictated by the Academy of Munich, Nazi painting is conspicuous by its lack of connection with any legitimate tradition. By legitimate, I mean historically alive and chronologically significant. At the opening of the 1938 exhibition Hitler stated: "Strength and beauty (*Kraft und Schönheit*) are the fanfares of the times. Clarity and logic will dominate the struggle. Who wishes to be an artist in this century must identify himself with this epoch." Everything in his show gave him the lie. One might have expected the *Kulturkammer* to select and impose certain historic models to best express the German soul. Rosenberg certainly worked overtime to revive an interest in the *Ur-Germanisch*. But on the contrary, they sedulously avoided anything *echt Deutsch* in the long, rich history of German painting to express "with clarity and logic," the Third Reich.

Cranach's touching gauchery, the feather-and-lightning landscapes of Altdorfer, the negative apocalyptic rainbow of Grünewald, the upholstered, solid splendor of Holbein—none of these spectacular contributions to western art, wherever they stemmed from, Franconia, Alsace, Bavaria, or Switzerland, were found useful by the Nazis. Pursuing its inverted dialectic the Nazi crusade ceased to be a German battle. The interna-



campaign had been won. A predetermined salon style, which had its own fifth column in every capital, awaited the Führer's attendance to emerge triumphant.

Nazi painting was German; that is, a further corruption of the Munich Academy's dilution of the lowest common denominator which is still to be seen, come peace or war, every spring, at the Royal Academy, the National Academy, the Salon, or the Palacio des Bellas Artes. It was occupied neither with the investigation of nature, personal sentiments of the painter, nor with the technical extension of the means of paint. Just as Hitler had copied postcards of the Burgtheater or the Parliament in Vienna, rather than draw from the buildings themselves, so Nazi painters repeated the formula of the prize-winner, rather than attempt any creative risk. For example: Willy Kriegel's annual huge renderings of grass, leaves, weeds, brooks, and flowers, blown-up Dürer nature-studies, aggressively inflated and tastelessly complete.

Nazi painting was "healthy"; that is, literally representational on the most superficial illustrative level of vulgar sterility. It was anti-imaginative, anti-psychological, anti-romantic, and essentially (while pro-natural) anti-realistic. It supported those aspects of genteel nature: dawn, sunset, rose, forest, meadow, udder. For example, Adolf Wissel, a kind of Bavarian Grant Wood, but more careful, smug, and laudatory.

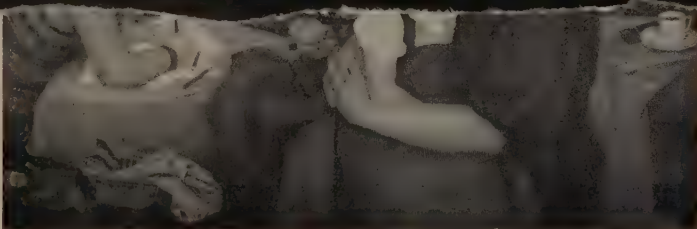
Nazi painting was "heroic"; that is, canvases were huge, painted not from private compulsion, but for display in the annual salon, as portable murals, or as posters in official buildings. For example: Adolf Ziegler's *The Four Elements*, purchased for the Führerbau.

Each of the eight annual shows might have been any of the others. There was never a suggestion of a progression of influence or idea, and even the reflection of shattering events was perfunctory. The war was of course noted, but in comparison with England or the United States, it was not felt in art. War without victory was an inadmissible public notion. After the last one, sculptors at least turned November 11th into a triumph. Painters had a tougher time.

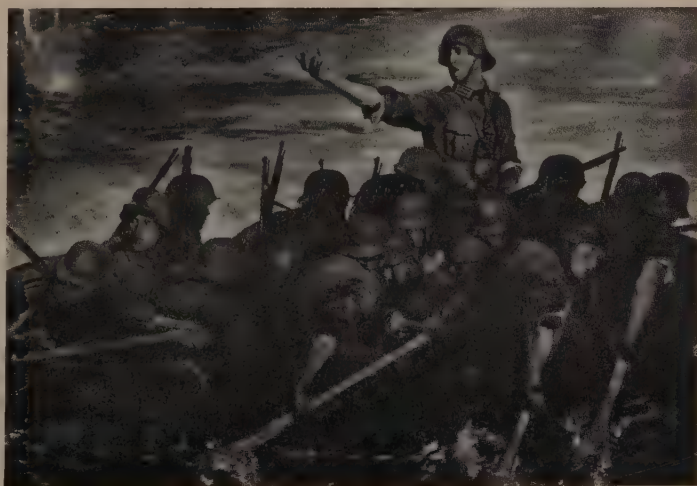
At the outset, there was of course the *Führerbildnis*, touched off by an "ideal" portrait of Hitler in armor, mounted, bearing the banner of the NSDAP. Only less popular were the "problem" pictures like those of Paul Mathias Padua: *Der Führer Spricht* (worker family listening to radio), and *10 Mai 1940* (assault boat with engineers), which became the *Washington Crossing the Delaware* of this war. As in the allied countries there were good and bad battle-sketches, perhaps the best being the singularly gloomy and detailed lithographs of Joseph Arens, commissioned by Hitler. Unlike England and America, where the artist-correspondents employed the most advanced expressive idiom, nothing that has come out of Germany could not equally well have been done before 1918.

War has fantasy been free in the open realm of caricature, though the brilliantly virulent cartoons of A. Paul Weber's *Politische Bilder* are in the best line of Gilray's and Rowlandson's anti-Napoleonic scorchers.

There have been many new buildings to decorate: party offices, banks, barracks, schools, and town-halls. What has been done compares, at least in technique, more than favorably with our PWA and WPA murals. The Nazis did not tolerate incompetence or slipshod execution. Their patronage was in no sense charity. On the other hand, while their execution was a technical high-mediocre, and they produced nothing as bad as our lavish worst, neither did they have anything nearly as able or imaginative as our best—Ben Shahn's frescoes in the Bronx and Washington, Edward Laning's on Ellis Island, Jared French's at Cocksackie Reformatory. Americans em-



Adolf Wissel: WORKER'S FAMILY. "A kind of Bavarian Grant Wood, but more careful, smug, and laudatory." Included in the Great German Art Exhibition, Munich, 1939. BELOW: Paul Padua: 10TH OF MAY, 1940. "It became the WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE for the Germans of this war."







Adolf Ziegler: THE FOUR ELEMENTS. Purchased for the Führerbau in Munich, where it hung in Hitler's living room. BELOW: Ernst Zoffen: DREAMING; Stepp Hill: VANITY. Both reproduced in color in "Kunst der Volk" the popular art magazines

employed much the same subject-matter—physical energy and the Common Man. The Germans had only one tone, a dilution of Hödler's marching reliefs and Brangwyn's muscles. Perhaps the best were Franz Eichorst's sober and official decorations in the new Rathaus, Berlin-Schöneberg (1938), in a manner combining Hödler and Maurice Sterne. His *Memory of Stalingrad* is a strangely defeatist and moving document. It glorifies nothing. It is defiant but hopeless. It was painted in 1943.

With a coroner's delicacy, one can make a distinction between Hitler's individual taste, and the preference of his associates. For example Baldur von Schirach, leader of the Hitler Youth and Gauleiter of Austria, supposedly protected the aged Käthe Kollwitz. Goering is reported to have hung van Gogh's *Pont d'Arles* from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. There was a whole wing of the SS, which favored "modern art", and indeed that is possibly why Picasso, an avowed Communist, is still alive after four years in occupied Paris.

But he who, "earnest and calm", improved in free-hand drawing, but could never construct a figure, he liked only one kind of painting. He prized above all the work of one Hans Makart (1840-1884), whose taste was perfectly fitted for the foyers of the Loew's-Orpheum circuits of the twenties. In his time, Makart had held a kind of artist-prince's court, and for forty years his memory had dominated the Vienna Academy. Goering collected fifty Cranachs; Hitler, forty Makarts.

Käthe Kollwitz is a very old woman, Max Beckmann is somewhere in Holland, and Kokoschka in London. If I were a Feininger, a Max Ernst, a Kokoschka, a Grosz, I should never return to Germany. The future of German painting is as obscure as her political future. One searches in vain (was there a resistance movement among a new Secessionist group?) for any hint of that gothic line fertilized again and again by Italy, or France, or the Low Countries, from Dürer, through the Bavarian baroque—finally in Cornelius, Runge, and von Carolsfeld. The school of Munich chose a faceless public style which countenanced neither local characteristics nor human feeling.

It will be a long time before a new Klee or a new Kandinsky emerges from the wreck of so much splendor and the memory of so much horror. Konrad Heiden said of Hitler: "The voice disguised itself as a man." Hitler established a state in which intellectual vacuum and imaginative death disguised themselves as painting, sculpture, and monumental building.





Erno Breker: EAGLE, 1943  
 . . . "a man-eating shark  
 with wings, leopard-claws,  
 and a beak like a destroyer."  
 BELOW: Breker's relief, FEL-  
 DOWNSHIP, for a municipal  
 building in Berlin.



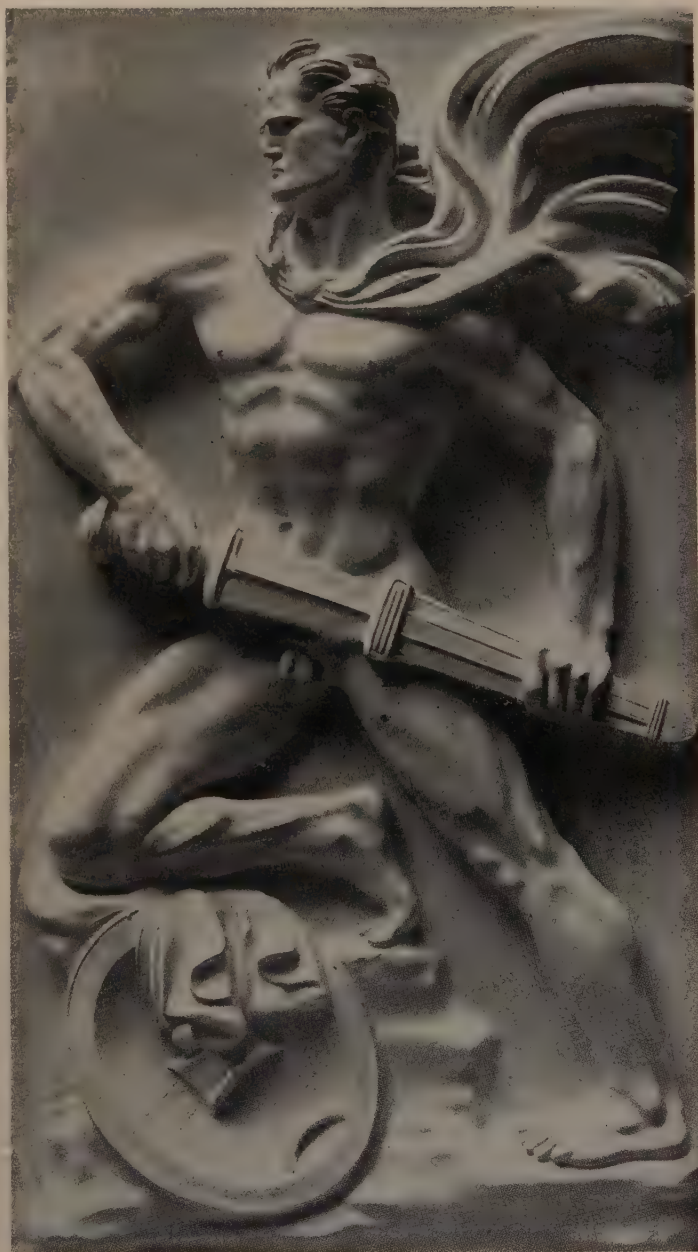
## SCULPTURE

Why is it that the gothic, most Germanic of historic styles, which one might have guessed would weigh heavily on contemporary German sculpture, has exerted absolutely no influence? From the bronze doors of Hildesheim (about 1015) through the Lion of Brunswick, the Apostles and great Rider at Bamberg, and the human and tender portraits on the Naumberg tombs, German gothic sculpture enjoyed a kind of high renaissance throughout Central Europe, whose developed, almost baroque, finale can still be seen in the glorious carving of the Bavarian altars. German sculpture throughout this long epoch magnificent.

Too many Americans know Chartres and Vézelay at the expense of Tilmann Riemenschneider's *Adam and Eve*, or the Michael Pacher altar at St. Wolfgang. Americans know Amiens, Rheims, Notre Dame de Paris, but they forget what used to be, and what still is, in the Cathedrals of Mainz, Frankfurt, Nürnberg. Transportable objects from all these cities survive, which with many others now lost, can be studied in excellent photographs. Medieval German sculpture remains a prime achievement of Western art.

The Nazis ignored the gothic, except for a bow towards the small-scale, half-timbered, domestic architecture, which was consistently picturesque. The painted, and above all the gothic sculptured expression was too precise, too local, too intimate. The desperate grief of the *Three Mary's* from Mittelbiberach is personal grief over a close tragedy. Personal feeling had no place under a state which inscribed in every barracks: DU BIST NICHTS: DEIN VOLK IST ALLES.

In sculpture, the Nazis chose rather a specifically Munich classicism, which derived in a weak ambivalence from the neoclassic frigidity of Thorwaldsen and the dreamy generalities of the later Rodin. We must remember that Munich contained the Glyptothek, and in it were the late archaic pediments from the Temple at Aegina, considerably restored by Thorwaldsen, who quite misunderstood the archaic. His own preference was for much later Hellenistic and Roman carving. He strained his reconstructions in an unconscious attempt to synthesize a





simple with a sophisticated idiom. Something of his confusion seems to have remained with German sculptors ever since. The Academy of Munich never showed a trace of the essential force in the hieratic calm of Aegina. It was considered "inexpressive." It was too modest, too contained. It was neither "dynamic" nor "heroic." Instead, plaster casts from the Temple of Zeus and the Museum at Olympia were the main inspiration of the Munich Academy: the free-standing figures, still vaguely archaic, but emerging into complete human consciousness, still heavy with mystery, but becoming men. The German dilutions were vacant rather than mysterious. There was nothing achieved to compare (even on the scale of the purely decorative) with the effective profile of Bourdelle's *Hercules*, to say nothing of Maillol's Mediterranean grandeur.

Even though Nazi sculpture is "monumental" and "pure", one might have thought that in the absorption with the great mysteries of the nude, certain professionals could have preserved their integrity, and created work on their own terms. If so, the Nazis found few sculptors of integrity to work for them. Hitler's Academy, which commenced by being a "simplification" of Hildebrand and Lederer (already a "simplification" of Rodin), ended by producing tiresome masonry, replicas of one another, as flat as the headlines of a provincial newspaper, whose editors finally, to avoid any risk whatsoever, simply printed as given the handouts of the Goebbels's 11:00 A.M. press conference.

Except for Lehmbruck (1881-1919) and Barlach (1870-1938) one cannot make out much of a case even for pre-Nazi sculpture. Lehmbruck, a very great talent, can be better seen today in the Museum of Modern Art than in any German collection. Despite his enormous influence, he is only tolerated as a memory, because of his suicide in the wake of Versailles, and because he attained world-wide prestige. But in the Nazi Academy his strong, personal direction was considered unbridled. He was a "dreamer", hence weak. Also he was too "vertikal." Barlach died absolutely unnoticed in 1938. He was the last (with the possible exception of Käthe Kollwitz in the memorial to her son near Dixmude after the last war) who attempted to find a gothic expression in contemporary terms.

The case of Georg Kolbe (born 1877) is grimly illuminating. Never a talent to compare with Maillol or Despiau, from whom he jointly derived, Kolbe nevertheless had his definite sentiment: a mild, pathetic charm. His best period was from 1912 to 1927, and he was very much acquired by American collectors from 1925 to 1933. Kolbe would be, one might almost have been certain, the least political of artists. One searches his sincere bust of Francisco Franco, done in 1937, for any feeling save mindless admiration. His free standing bronze memorial figures at Stralsund, 1935, and at Krefeld, 1938, are replete with that straining search-for-destiny which is the mask of the Nazi death-will. The *Grosser Kämpfer* (1941) is insistent, but weak. Despite their ostensible origin, these monuments are far more to the *Weltkampf* than to the *Weltkrieg*. His own self-portrait, 1939, brims over with self-love and self-pity, the doctrine that the Artist must suffer. Dr. Goebbels commended Kolbe: "The Lyric is becoming a *Dynamik*!"

Gerhard Marcks' (born 1889) is much the same story. He has made slight spiritual progress under the Nazis, who seem to have tolerated him as their token "imaginative" *Bildhauer*. He has only transmitted his easily recognizable archaistic mannerism to a swarm of less gifted pupils. There is a hint of tragedy here. Young artists flocked to Marcks. He was the last one who was "free". In *Krieg und Frieden*, 1938, however, there is an unconditional surrender of any personal tone. With its armored pectorals, shaved axillae, professional competence, vapid inhumanity, it is just another Damon-and-Pythias job, almost indistinguishable from Hildebrand, Lederer, or indeed,

Arno Breker. In 1919, he had been in charge of the ceramic section of the Bauhaus at Weimar. Something of the frailness baked clay long attended his work. Longer than any others of his generation, he maintained a character of his own. At least his bronzes were immediately distinguishable from anyone else's (except his pupils'). But the same process of petrification apparent in the Kolbe is apparent in his work too. Through the thirties, his old stylizations fill out into a more rigid completeness. Memories of the late romanesque, made vague and decorative, as in the portrait of his wife (1933), persist into the *Magna Mater* of 1941. *The Fury* (1942), which looks like an angel for a *Wiener Werkstätte Crèche*, was praised for "monumentality". The more monumental he grew, the more impersonal.

Arno Breker, the *Führer* of the younger generation is an interesting study, certainly the most talented personality in any of the arts to emerge under Hitler, whose favorite he was. (Hitler preferred sculptors to painters, and architects to both.) Breker was born near Düsseldorf in 1900. He was the son of a stone mason and sculptor, and has a first-rate technical background. Like Kolbe long before, Breker went to Paris, where from 1922 to 1933 he worked in the immediate atmosphere of Despiau and Maillol. In the handsome monograph published by Flammarion and signed: Charles Despiau (one refuses to believe he wrote it) the early works of Breker are found to be the familiar first attempts of a gifted student in love with various historic periods from the Egyptians to Rodin. In a portrait, he renders Nefretete as seen by Despiau; nudes are spineless and adolescent, like Kolbe's. But in spite of eclecticism, he displays a genuine physicality and astonishing manual dexterity.

1938 was Breker's big year. He did the slick portrait of the Chancellor which Hitler, among all the fifty *Führerbüsten* he posed for, thought he looked most like. For Goebbels he cast the two heroic bronze nudes *Partei* and *Wehrmacht*, which, until the Russian bombardment, flanked the Honor-Court of the Reich Chancellery.

In spite of the fact that Breker, in uniform, showed his victorious patron the monuments of Paris (in which Hitler showed slight interest except for the Palais Chaillot and Napoleon's tomb), that he enjoyed a practical monopoly on all the important executed commissions, and on most of the projected ones as well, one hears that he never really "believed". Looking at the nudes, one understands. *Party* and *Army* are two enormous candelabra, the legs of which were taken literally from the model, and the tops of which seem to have been blown up within the metal itself, by some secret weapon. The muscles seem pushed to explosion, the brows scowl in furrows with sincere paranoid delusion. But they are not impressive, except in their deviation from human scale.

Breker's enormous energy and facility never seem to have satisfied him. One after the other, almost in chronological order, he gulps down the large effects of Michelangelo, Gian Bolognese, Bourdelle, Rodin, Maillol, Milles—*David*, *Mercury*, *Hercules*, *Thinker*, *Cyclist*, *Orpheus*. There is little assimilation. Sleek sensuality on an academic range produces a kind of German Paul Manship, but without Manship's honest acceptance of his own limits.

In addition he had powerful ambitions as an artist-diplomat in the line of Rubens. Cocteau wrote the introduction for the retrospective show organized on "invitation" from Vichy at the Orangerie in the summer of 1942. Breker commanded Rudier the master forge-smith, to cast for the first time in bronze Rodin's composite life-work *The Gates of Hell*. Where did the bronze come from? Where is Rodin's *Balzac*, missing from its pedestal at the corner of the Boulevards Raspail and Montparnasse?



At the opening of the Breker show, Maillol had himself photographed with Breker and Despiau, having made a special trip from Banyuls to honor his former pupil. Benoist-Mechin made the address of welcome. The sculptors Paul Landowski, Beltondo, Lajeune, the painters Derain, de Segonzac, Othon Friesz, Roland Oudot, van Dongen, and Vlaminck appeared, while Georges Grappe, Director of the Rodin Museum, welcomed Breker again into the circle of French art. It was necessary at the time of Maillol's death in an automobile accident, to deny that he had been executed by local units of the FFI for his part in the greatest scandal of artist collaboration under Vichy. In the final *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* show (summer, 1944), Breker exhibited heroic busts of Maillol and Vlaminck.

One would think that in his long, nervous hunt through historic styles, Breker might have come upon Veit Stoss, or Adam Kraft, or Anton Pilgram, or even the harsh, almost baroque elaboration of Bernt Notke. The single touch of the gothic on Breker is in his high-relief, *St. Martin and the Beggar*, on the North Star Life Insurance Building in Berlin, which he borrowed from the *Bassenheimer Rider*, near Coblenz. Yet Breker cannot be ignored. His skill is striking. It may be possible that with the demise of Nazism he will produce a personal and generous work. He failed gorgeously under the highest patronage. Under harsh conditions, he might perhaps modestly succeed.

One holds less hope for Josef Thorak, Breker's only rival for the Führer's favor. Born in Vienna in 1889, and working in Munich since 1936, he seems to have been closer to the party bosses than to Hitler, who, remembering his early failures with the Academy of Makart, did not greatly care for the Viennese. Thorak has the *schwärmerei* and the *schmalz* of the waltzes; he was a canny politician, urbane and courtly. He did the big bronze group for the Party Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition of 1937, and in 1938 two huge naked horses for the rear of the Reichskanzlei. Possessing a technical competence the equivalent of Breker's, by 1942 it is quite difficult to tell who is influencing whom, and which had the inside track on the big deals.

But by then he had left off yearning. He was indubitably *architektonisch*. In the colossal projected groups for Speer's Party Rally Grounds for Nürnberg, in his (projected) fountain of the *Judgment of Paris*, in the two separate (projected) heroic equestrian statues of Frederick the Great as a youth (stallion), as King (parade-mount), in his figure of Mathias Grünewald (tribute of Austrian sculptor to German painting), in the *Paracelsus*; *Grosse Denkers aus dem Deutschen Osten*, and in the *Fischer von Erlach* (tribute of Austrian painter to Austrian builder, i.e., Hitler), Thorak demonstrates his rampant ease and porcelain surface. His two equestrian bruisers of 1940, *Sword Bearer* and *Standard Bearer* are nevertheless, in about the same style, much sturdier than Mestrovic's paper Indians in Chicago. They have crushing weights added to their brutal silhouettes, Wagnerian orchestrations in bronze of Horst Wessel's doggerel:

"Hold high the flag; close rank and file maintain!  
SA march on, with quiet, sober tread.  
Comrades, Red Front and opposition slain,  
March on in spirit at our column's head."

Albert Speer built Thorak a small chancellory at Baldham for a studio, which could comfortably house his gigantic casts. The main room was a hundred feet long, seventy-five wide, and about forty feet high. It was Goethe who wrote of his first view of the Coliseum, in 1786: "When one beholds it, all else seems small. It is so big (*es ist so gross*) one cannot encompass it all at once. One remembers it as only smaller. And when one comes back, and looks at it again, it is anew, bigger than before (*neue grosser vor*)."<sup>2</sup> In German, one can oppose *grandiose* to *gros*, but it is difficult to make the distinction between great and



Arno Breker: DIE WEHRMACHT. Reichskanzlei. (See page 235.)



Josef Thorak: SWORD BEARER, bronze, 1940.

Thorak's studio, 100 x 75 feet, built by Albert Speer.



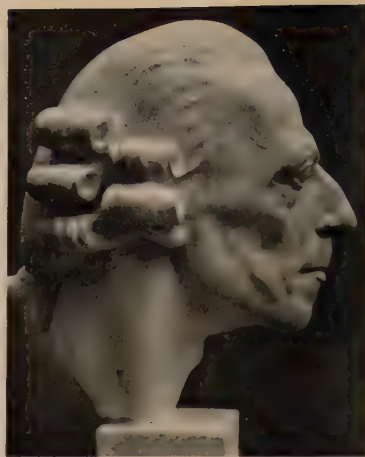




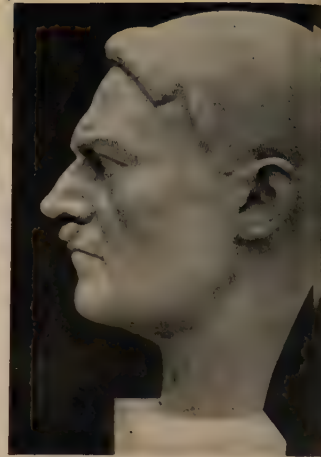
**Richard Miller:**  
HIMMLER.



**Kurt Schmid-Ehmen:**  
STREICHER



**Joseph Thorak:**  
FREDERICK THE GREAT



**Joseph Thorak:**  
HITLER

merely large. There seems to be a somatic confusion in German thought between the morally grand and the physically ample. Strength, size, and energy, in themselves, overweigh their uses or results. Breker's straining is "strong". Thorak's scale is "great". Lehmbruck's slightness is "weak".

Thus even with horses, and the nude, the innocent norms of animal magnetism, combined with technique of a high competence, and (for a long time) complete economic subvention, the two chief practitioners of carving and modeling (mostly the latter) failed to achieve one authentic piece with the wispy physical charm of, let us say, Renée Sintenis in her *Daphne*, or her leggy colts. In the hands of Breker and Thorak, the nude became spayed or castrated, but still faintly pornographic. The annual sculpture shows looked like vast frozen warehouses, where muscle was on the market, sweatless, iced, uncircumcised athlete and intact maid, sacrificial virgins for the antiseptic state.

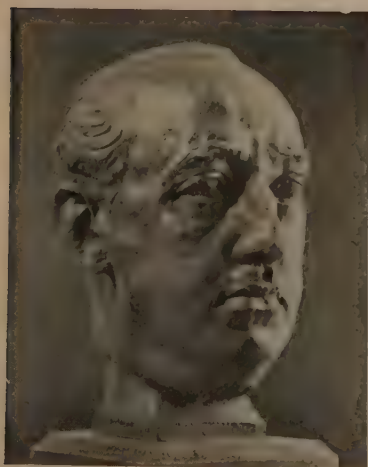
Nevertheless, the general level of official work in Germany was technically superior to much of the work in France, England, and the United States. Our artists closest to the school of Munich are Cecil Howard (much admired in the *Olympische Kunstausstellung* of 1936), Manship, Paul Jannewein, and John Gregory, whose reliefs on Paul Cret's Folger Memorial Library in Washington are a little more bold than Breker's similar plaques on the North Star in Berlin.

Hans Breker, younger brother of Arno, also seems to possess a real gift. Looser, less strained, his masters are apparently Meunier and Rodin. His portraits have their modest interest in characterization unmarred by flattery. But of all the scores of sculptors, perhaps the most exportable would be Fritz Nuss of Stuttgart. His name and work rarely appeared in the official publications, although he showed each year in the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*. *Der Überlegene* (approximately: *The Dominator*), of 1941, belies its boastful title. It is a quietly contained, completely realized standing figure, which recalls the Rodin of *The Age of Iron*.

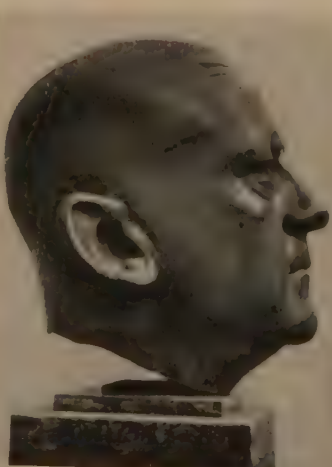
One might mention twenty other Germans, less lucky, or less gifted, who have submitted to the same rules and played the same game—among them Karl Albiker, Fritz Klimsch, Willy Meller, Georg Müller, Kurt Schmid-Ehmen, Joseph Wackerle, and Adolph Wamper. There are also a lot of well-trained women. All did public works. The *Kulturkammer* dished out commissions. There wasn't much time for private work, nor many places to show it. Hitler kept a stable of sculptors, and the geldings were slated for the proper courses. The big jobs were for the party buildings, stadiums, shows. Single smaller pieces appeared in the annual salons.

Portraiture was naturally a serviceable weapon for the Ministry of Propaganda. It must be emphasized again that art in the Third Reich was a strictly home-grown product for local consumption. There were half-hearted exchange shows

**Georg Kolbe:**  
FRANCO



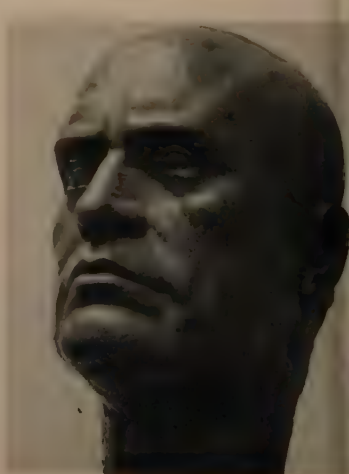
**Kurt Schmid-Ehmen:**  
WAGNER



**Kurt Schmid-Ehmen:**  
SCHWARZ



**Joseph Thorak:**  
MÜSSELI



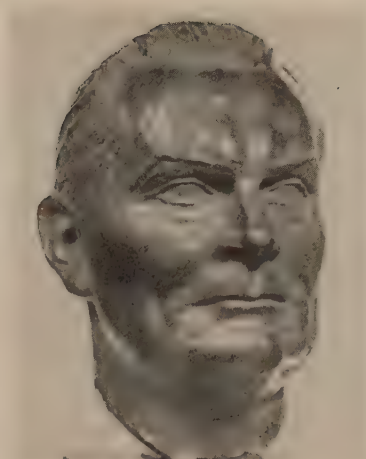




Ferdinand Liebermann:  
HINDENBURG



Herman Pagels:  
HESS



Walter Wolff:  
GOERING



Arno Breker:  
HITLER

f Italian, Bulgarian, Spanish, and Japanese art in Berlin. A Nô mask was found to be close in spirit to a Raphael drawing, and a Shinto temple was discovered to resemble a Viking Hall, which it rather does.) But by and large, portraits, as well as the other bigger pieces were created first of all to be *photographed*, and then possibly shown, and incidentally cast or cut.

(Nazi Germany had three lavishly produced art magazines, *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich* (Franz Eher Verlag, Munich); *Kunst* (Bruckmann Verlag, Munich); and *Kunst dem Volk* (Heinrich Hoffman, Vienna). In the last years in the combined three monthly issues there were five articles on French painting and less than a dozen on Italian. The most recent French picture to be reproduced was a Degas. Hence there is a whole generation of German art students who know absolutely nothing of European art save German.)

German photography has never been a secret weapon, but it has remained a magnificent one technically. The photographers of sculpture, and to even a greater degree, of architecture, not only spread the image. They made it even more credible, more "factual." A photograph of a sculptor's idea of the Führer's head, by a sort of short-circuit *mystique*, renders it even truer than a simple post-card portrait. With consummate craft, each piece was honored in its most attractive monumental light.

The idiom of the Nazi portrait head was a heroized, life-

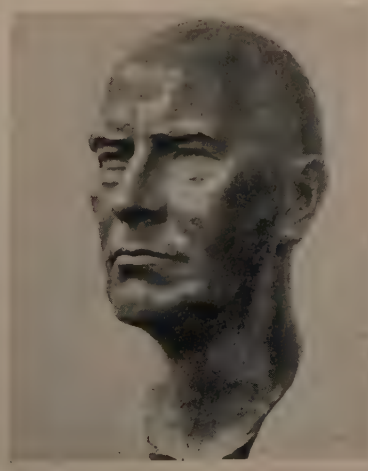
like (but over life-size) job, combining primary facial characteristics, glossed over with a faintly impressionist, fuzzed down, soft-focus surface. When the photographer reproduced the soft-glow in a hard light, the results were appetizing. The Nazis had no more use for Roman heads than for gothic tombs, as models. Both called for the surgical analysis of character, an interest in the *object*, not a heroic idea of it. Compare with the Nazi portraits a series of self-portraits by the neo-classics, Dannecker, von Schadow, even Rauch, none of them great artists, but each of whom felt the initial impact of Rome as a direct experience, unfiltered through subsequent dilution. They were themselves the first diluters. But one looks vainly for one head as psychologically accurate as Ernesto de Fiori's *Hindenburg* (1924) done nearly a decade before that gifted portraitist left for São Paulo.

Schmid-Ehmen's *Julius Streicher* renders the fiendish *Stürmer* as an international banker and collector of first editions. Richard Miller's *Heinrich Himmler* as a benevolent college president. Walter Wolff made Goering look like Annie Besant, and Alfred Cortot turns out to be Beethoven. Photographs had an additional advantage over the real. They could be juxtaposed with hair-raising effect. Josef Thorak's eagle's profile of Frederick the Great, the mummy nose, thin lips, and hollow chaps sniffing victory, may be faced by the same master's *Führerbüste* in which Hitler has actually developed into a falcon.

Bernard Bleeker:  
SCHENAU



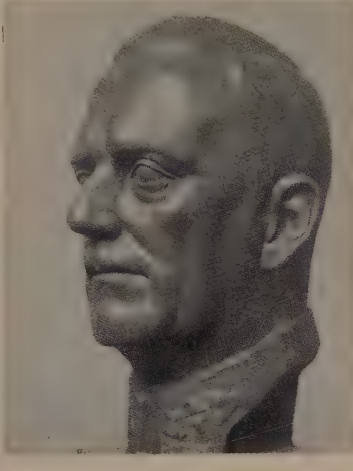
Fritz Klimsch:  
FRICK



Bernard Bleeker:  
SIEBERT



Herman Pagels:  
KEITEL







Hans Breker: MOTHER WITH CHILDREN. "Younger brother of Arno, (he) also seems to possess a real gift. Looser, less strained, his masters are apparently Meunier and Rodin."

The lesser political leaders (along with poets, musicians, and actors) did not rate so high. Their heads were farmed out to lesser hacks who could not risk them in any heroic comparison to the party leaders. Hence they hold a certain documentary and rather awful honesty.

And then there were the eagles. Every sculptor seems to have been taxed one *Führerbüste* and one *Hoheitsadler*. The eagle of Hohenzollern, the double-header of the Deutscher Bund and the Empire, mutates into Breker's harpy of 1943, a man-eating shark with wings, leopard-claws, and a beak like a destroyer. Eagles in neo-Assyrian flight are incised into the walls of the Reichsbank, eagles clutch wreathed swastikas on every Hitler-Youth home, eagles hover over SS barracks and protect schools and air-raid shelters. It was an industry.

It is perhaps not strange that the best contemporary German sculpture is memorial. But a distinction must be made between memorials of World War I, completed before Hitler, and the ones he had erected, which were in reality party monuments. The first are marked by a certain nobility and calm. The Germans seem to feel more readily about death than life. One recalls the magnificent project (unfulfilled) of Miës van der Rohe for the Unknown Soldier of 1918—a vast empty space, naked of moulding, sheathed in terra antica marble, a fine iron wreath, and two words: "*Den Toten*." The awful, translated doom they seem to feel, a cosmic sledge hammer on the ox-skull of mankind, abstract and hypnotized, with slight relation to any life which might give it meaning. A German would have been quite incapable of Maillol's reclining laurel-giver to the living spirit of Cézanne. Can you think of one fine memorial to Goethe, Beethoven, Heine, Bach, Robert Koch, or the Brothers Grimm? No. But we have Lederer's *Bismarck*, fifteen metres high in granite, and the Leipzig *Battle of the Nations*, a night mare from the *Nibelungenlied*.

However, the stones in many war and civilian cemeteries are splendid, finer than any in French or American graveyards, though not so elegant as in Britain—black marble with fine Roman (seldom gothic) inscriptions in red and gold. For the First World War, Richard Scheibe (born 1879) made a fine stone soldier at Biebrich on the Rhine, although he has been quite Nazified recently. Bernard Bleeker (born 1882), with a frank, but masterful acknowledgment of medieval mortuary sculpture, carved the moving *Unknown Soldier* in Munich. Ernst Barlach's *Lübeck Memorial* and the Kollwitz kneeling father and mother near Dixmude have a quiet suitability, neither sententious nor strident. There has been nothing comparable since.

Harold Nicholson's astute epitaph remains: "With all their virtues, the Germans have a sense of status, not of equality." Their sculptors seem to have felt doomed for being less than the Greeks (the Greek idea being the only one capable of encompassing Wagnerian cosmic sentiment), so they revenged themselves by a grandiose synthesis of all styles stemming from the Greek. There was always the compulsion behind them to be icon-builders. They must insistently produce "*Symbole Grosser Zeit*."

Germans once more have been victims of the self-hypnosis and mass self-deception, to which they seem recurrently susceptible. Their sculpture is an accurate reflection of their mental climate. Unconvinced of any traditional priority in the medium, before Italy or Hellas in the past, before France in the present, they shut their eyes on their best bet, German gothic renaissance and baroque carving. They took refuge in an ideal of naive perfection, smooth surface, the coolly decorative, the arrantly monumental, which was seldom heroic but simply out of scale. German sculptors today are left with little but the evidence of their industry.



Paul Ludwig Troost: THE  
FÜHRER HOUSE, Munich.  
Hitler's first architect . . .  
was an old, feeble de-  
signer, responsible for the  
stagnating interiors of  
luxury liners like the Eu-  
ropa and Columbus."



## II. ARCHITECTURE

Hitler had hoped to be a painter. Lazy and untalented, his relief in his instinctive genius gave him a springboard for the guilty frustration which stoked a vengeful and powerful career. When, in 1908, he failed to enter the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, a kindly professor advised him to try the School of Architecture. Perhaps his mechanical drawings were better suited to architecture than to painting. But Hitler did not possess the necessary high-school diplomas, and he could not even compete in the entrance-examination. However, as late as 1919, he gave as his profession on police records, "architect."

Nevertheless, Hitler made himself an architect of sorts, and a builder on an enormous scale. He became an architect as he became a general, by intuition. He succeeded equally well in both fields, although his generals worked in rather a more liberal tradition than his builders. At least they recognized the tank and the airplane. Troost, Gall, Speer, and Kreis fostered only systems of fenestration and arcade that the mid-nineteenth-century designers of Munich's Ludwigstrasse had whittled down from the Palazzo Rucellai and the Loggia degli Lanzi.

Germans have always adored the Mediterranean, as if their north were Night and they sought Sun: "*Mehr Licht, mehr Licht!*" From Dürer at the start of the 16th century, to Schinkel and von Schadow at the end of the 18th, German artists, by a close personal contact with Roman ruins or renaissance invention, fertilized their own fields. But with the death of Goethe and the birth of Wagner, it almost seems that Italy was exhausted as a healthy German source. Now Germans brought over the Alps not Rome, but a genteel Florence, and it became frost-bitten in passage. Proportions shrink, detail wizens, personal comment evaporates, the grand design becomes mean and there is no vitality, merely a strained, ungenerous memory of the unattainable south.

Instead of casting it all off, as the French and Belgians bravely attempted with *art nouveau*, the Germans (at least officially, and in Germany the official style is the National Style) stuck willfully to the idiom, which somehow seemed at least to offer the security of an absolute. But it had become so

meaningless that even they could tell it needed reform. All they did, however, was to strip off the ornament, square out the round flutings, pull up the pediment gables, and swell the scale. Certain elements of the Nazi style were foreshadowed even before World War I, in Tessenow's Dalcroze School at Hellerau (1910), and, in its massive regularity, Peter Behrens' German Embassy in St. Petersburg (1912). Reissinger's House of German Education in Bayreuth (1936), with its shed-portico, its stubborn, threadbare "refinement," reads like a simplified overlay of the Dalcroze gymnasium.

As architect, how did Hitler arrive at his models? Gothic was naturally unacceptable, both on account of its ecclesiastical connotation, and because it was an arrested idiom. The baroque was even more flagrant, and as well, Hitler had early anti-Catholic memories as an Austrian student, when the old cry of national independence, "*Los von Rom*," echoed around the exuberant operatic abbeys of Melk and St. Florian, near Linz. Although denied admittance to the architecture school in Vienna, he embraced its standards as passionately as its prize-winners. Those standards were even more retardative, if possible, than the Beaux-Arts of Paris or New York, of the same epoch.

The Nazi style is a local transposition of the neo-Roman classicistic which Harding's advisors told America would be the ultimate realization of Jefferson's vision of the antique. What is the essential difference between Harding "classic" and Hitler "classic," and, for that matter, the "classic" of the Roosevelt administration? Perhaps there is no essential difference. However there may be interesting secondary differences.

As we have seen with painting and sculpture, 20th century German uses of the antique were not based on original models, which gave Gilly, Schinkel and von Schadow their main source of personal invention and their incontestable value. (The elegance of the Virginia State Capitol resides also in Jefferson's careful model of the Maison Carré.) The Nazis did not look to Rome (where Mussolini was doing a far better job in his own backward vein), but to Munich. The archetype of "party architecture," Paul Ludwig Troost's Führerbau (1938), is simply a monstrous restatement in "monumental" terms and materials of an adaptation from the Florentine stone in Wittelsbach





Albert Speer: HITLER'S STUDY, Reichskanzlei, Berlin. "... ordained to outdo the operatic splendor of Mussolini's office in the Palazzo Venezia . . . about as suitable for work as the waiting-room of Grand Central Station, with whose proportions and mouldings it had much in common."

plaster, of a bourgeois villa under Ludwig. Another important influence was the late 19th-century official classicism of Vienna which exerted perhaps the strongest influence on Hitler himself.

Washington official building has long been under the domination of architects who were trained, to a man, at the Academy of Rome, and throughout their lives—and here is the main difference from the Nazis—behaved exactly as though they were drafting in the ateliers of Alberti, Michelozzo, San Gallo, or Vespasian himself. The Lincoln Memorial, with the Emancipator as the Olympian Zeus may be an anomaly, the National Archives a forest of Corinthian redwood, the Supreme Court a marble funeral cake, but they all look *big*, and like they cost a whale of a lot of money. In a word, we may describe Washington as *expensive*. When, in a word, we call Nazi architecture *thin*, we mean poverty-stricken in hand and mind. Yet money was never a consideration, and most of the more sensational (and hence "freely" developed) projects exist only in models.

To be sure, with the effects of the depression, the Harding neo-imperial projects were stripped down and thinned out. The War Department, the Federal Reserve Building, the Social Security Building, the Pentagon, and the Golden Angle are dead-ringers for the Nazi style—the classic *écorché*, columns squared out to strips, flutings like corrugated-paper, poverty described as simplicity, weight as a simulacrum of strength. But fortunately, these did not represent the best of building in America during the thirties; the German equivalent represented not only the best, but the only, as well.

Generally speaking, our taxpayers got the kind of a Washington they wanted. If the American people want their capitol to look like a super-dooper dream of a technicolor Rome with all the fixin's, they've got it. On the other hand, the Germans were told what they wanted and got much less. No trace of exuberance, no rich swags, no flights of steps, barely a pediment piled with patient statuary; everything gross and consistent, and the thousand monuments Hitler thought to raise turn out to be the ruins of fifty offices, a hundred barracks, a stadium,

a stone grand-stand, half a convention hall, and the highways.

Remembering the achievements of Gropius, Neutra, Mendelsohn, Miës van der Rohe, the Bauhaus at Dessau, the town planning congresses at Stuttgart and Leipzig, the museum installations in Essen and Cologne, one is in mourning. Hitler hated the flat roof, banded windows, steel-and-glass, *die neue Sachlichkeit*. To functionalism and the international style, he opposed the dynamic, the architectonic, and the monumental. Half-educated, and because of this, capricious and stubborn, Hitler had but one basic architectural notion: absolute symmetry, at any cost (including ultimately the sacrifice of theatrical effectiveness). The vast dreary projects for the innumerable Adolf-Hitler Squares for every big town are rigidly symmetrical, two of everything in crushing balance, except in the center where an eagle-crowned aperture furnishes the focus of his arrival and departure.

It is said that the Wehrmacht general staff was terrified of the architects. Hitler would awaken in a beneficent mood as the Kaiser Augustus. "Today, Herr Reichsmarschall (never Hermann or Fatso), we shall build!" "But, mein Führer, at ten o'clock you have the conference with Keitel, Modl. and Dönitz. The Russians have started . . ." "Silence, *Dummkopf*! today we build!" So he was photographed happily in Speer's huge neo-Tyrolean atelier, pouring over broad tracings for the proposed ground-plans for the new, great, Greater Berlin, *Hauptstadt des Grossen Deutschen Reiches*; Munich, *Die Stadt der Bewegung*; Nürnberg, *Die Stadt der Reichsparteitage*.

It all started in Munich with Paul Ludwig Troost, Hitler's first architect, posthumously canonized as *Der Baumeister des Dritten Reiches*. He was an old, feeble designer, responsible for the suffocating interiors of luxury liners like the *Europa* and *Columbus*. In the big boats of the twenties there was always something heavily unreal, the public rooms were too large, the veneer too shiny, the food too rich, the upholstery too soft—a drugged atmosphere of senseless luxury and conspicuous waste. It was a second generation of the taste of Munich, which in painting had been formed by Franz von



luck, in sculpture by Hildebrand, in architecture by German mestlemayer's houses and the Prinz Regenten Theater of Max Littman. Troost was a starchy dilution of so rich a dish. He came into prominence when, after the last war, Anglo-American financiers decided the Nord Deutsche Lloyd was a good bet.

Before Hitler became Chancellor, he had Troost marble the original old Brown House into a mausoleum. The NSDAP Führerbau was flanked by the NSDAP Verwaltungsbau. In between, twin pergolas contained the black marble sarcophagi of the first small uncomprehending victims of Mein Kampf, the all but anonymous martyrs of November 9, 1923. It would have been far more effective to have laid all the bodies out in a single shed. This, however, would have destroyed the already established axis and abolished the absolute symmetry.

Troost's House of German Art (to replace the old Glaspalast burned in 1931) was completed after his death in 1934. It seems to have been conceived not as a series of galleries for changing exhibitions, but as a stranded luxury liner, complete with promenade-decks and restaurant-lounges. Its long colonnade of blunt-piped stone, its overlarge rooms with their elephantine proportions, were entirely suitable for the display of portable murals disguised as easel-pictures. The detail is poor. Great ventilator grills let into the stone lido distract the eye (or serve as a relief from the exhibits).

If Troost established the formula, Albert Speer carried it to the heights. In 1932 he had done the Adolf-Hitlerhaus in Berlin. Shortly after, he had an office big enough to undertake the transformation of the Prussian capital. He was named General Building Inspector for the High-City of the Greater-German-Realm. The Reichskanzlei of 1938 was his masterpiece, the definition of Hitler's purest preference.

A keynote was struck by the Führer's Arbeitszimmer, ordained to outdo the operatic splendor of Mussolini's office in the Palazzo Venezia. It was about as suitable for work as the waiting-room of Grand Central Station, with whose proportions and mouldings it had much in common. Its mosaic Honor Hall, panelled with an identical design indefinitely duplicated; its mineral, lavatory-like tunnel-corridors, whose vast length was adorned at proper intervals by SS. guards, maintained a real character: brutal weight, crushing will. The furniture was suited to the bottoms of giants; on the walls (quite lost), hung the finest tapestries from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Over the Führer's fireplace (lacking a whole stuffed elephant) hung the disturbingly benign Lenbach portrait of Bismarck, a sinister, cozy touch.

To Speer, as to Hitler, classicism meant first of all uniformity, the arbitrary repetition of a single module of design, framed by moulding or rustication, with beggarly detail, which might be inserted anywhere in the length of a façade to prolong it, like an extension bookcase. Nazi classicism, unlike the Washington variant, was *ernst*, serious not luxurious, solemn not rich, "powerful" not "playful" (in the jargon of the School of Rome). It was functionalism in a strait-jacket. As in painting and sculpture, the password was: *Not Internationalism but Universalism*.

The Reichskanzlei style was promulgated throughout the Reich by many other offices, like Troost's in Munich, which was continued by his wife, Gerdy, and Leonhard Gall. But the formula was never violated, and the whole roster of buildings, realized or projected, might have been turned out by the same designer. Hitler breathed and dreamed architectural projects. Squares named in his honor were completely worked out for Augsburg, Dresden, Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Weimar—interchangeable, airless, and oppressive. But they were, particularly in their plaster models, wonderfully satisfactory to



Albert Speer: TRIBUNE FOR THE ZEPPELIN FIELD, Nürnberg . . .  
"a theater disguised as a grandstand."



Paul Ludwig Troost: HOUSE OF GERMAN ART, Munich. BELOW:  
Albert Speer: entrance to the REICHSKANZLEI, Berlin.







*Schaechterle and Petrich: AUTOBAHN BRIDGE OVER THE NEISSE. "Never intended as pleasure roads . . . they were designed as strictly military highways, which were also used as intermittent air-strips which would enable the Wehrmacht to reach any of the national boundaries as fast as possible."*

Hitler. The model builder for architecture, like the photographer for sculpture, 'almost superseded the original designer. Realizations in miniature promised' (and in a sense could almost be considered a fulfillment of) the actual edifice. But, apart from these civic centers, which were in fact merely party offices, Hitler had absolutely no interest in town-planning. His low-cost housing projects were as great a fraud as his campaign for the *Volkswagen*, for which everyone paid and none received. In 1936, the *VÖLKISCHER BEOBSACHTER* described him thus at a corner-stone ceremony: "The architect, the artist, forms plastic gestures with his hands to illustrate the structure of his meaning!" In 1930 he had told Otto Strasser: "The whole working mass (*Lumpenproletariat*) wants nothing else but bread and circuses. They have no real comprehension of any ideal . . . They should be handled with no false humanity."

From 1932 to 1936 Werner March, an architect infinitely superior to Speer, had been building the huge Olympic stadium and village in Berlin. This was Hitler's last cultural gesture to the outside world. Now Speer went to work with grim, Brobdignagian compulsion. He built the tribune for the Zeppelin Field in Nürnberg, a theater disguised as a grandstand. The vast Congress Hall for the Party Day rallies, as big as the Coliseum and Madison Square Garden and the Los Angeles

Auditorium at once, was never completed. It will make a good quarry for the rebuilding of Nürnberg. Speer had plans to replace the Alexanderplatz by a Rundeplatz, the biggest circular Munich-Florentine job to date, with Arno Breker's largest fountain. Wilhelm Kreis would rebuild the bombed Marieninsel with a series of neo-Assyrian numbers which looked like a nightmare plan to dam the trickle of the River Spree.

One is tempted to give up all architecture in the Third Reich as a bad job. Yet in spite of the fact that Hitler knew as little about building as about sculpture or painting, there was some excellent work done in his time. That is, comparatively speaking. Playing the devil's advocate is no fun, yet the few things that remain in the memory out of the welter of fallacy and willfulness make such a contrast that they almost seem to redeem everything else. In Hermann Giesler's big Hitler-Youth school at Ordensburg-Sonthofen (1935-38) and in Clemens Koltz' Ordensburg Vogelsang in the Eifel, of the same period, are two realizations of plans for educational shelters which compare more than favorably, let us say, and rather in the same taste, with Saarinen's Cranbrook. Both are more advanced in design than most Middle-Western high schools and colonialesque colleges. Nothing was built under Hitler as wasteful as the Hollywood gothic library at Yale or the Princeton gymnasium. At the Hitler-Youth schools masonry

*Model for the Congress Hall in Nürnberg. "As big as the Coliseum and Madison Square Garden and the Los Angeles Auditorium at once, (it) was never completed."*







*Herbert Rimpl: HEINKEL WORKS, 1936, Oranienburg. "There was considerable freedom permitted in purely commercial building. The academic racial laws were not, seemingly, invoked in matters of industrial design, with one or two exceptions."*

both field and cut stone is used in a fresh and pleasing manner, the quasi-folkish handling is excellently done, good use is made of the space and the landscape, and the quarters are comfortable and attractive, although naturally colossal.

There was considerable freedom permitted in purely commercial building. The academic racial laws were not, seemingly, invoked in matters of industrial design, with one or two rather serious exceptions. Designers could use flat roofs, glass and steel strip-windows, and even mild cantileverage, but they were never absolved from the symmetrical plan, and the monumental mass was still the desideratum. That is, the corners of a façade would be clipped in by massive brick panels to enhance the idea of permanence, and steps would lead up to a central focal control point, no matter whether the function of the factory called for them or not. In spite of this, Herbert Rimpl's Heinkel Works at Oranienburg (1936), and many other factories, coal-mine installations, coke-furnaces, and hangars, by the industrial architects Kremmer and Schupp, are admirably thought out, and executed with great distinction. In the adjacent workers housing development, however, we discover an immediate throw-back to steep gables, half-timbered penthouses in Nürnbergeresque cottages.

Hitler's vocabulary was composed merely of those elements

from the house in Munich in which he had his first success. These elements he had elevated, or rather inflated, into a scale which he believed was monumental. Success as such, and the place where it first hit him, served as the trauma from which he never recovered. Shocked into arrested development, his energy backed up. That it should be so in the case of a psychopath is not odd, as his whole life was a succession of severe reactions to violent shocks. But that so many of his architects, most of them older, solid, respectable, and more or less tasteful craftsmen, should accede with such sympathy and alacrity to his dwarfed standards is possibly a compliment to *Oberbauinspektorgeneral des Gross Deutschen Reiches* Speer's para-military powers. Yet three years after he had finished the fine Heinkel job, we find Rimpl's office responsible for a perfectly frightening over-all city plan for the Hermann Göring Werke to be built as a model-town in the middle of nowhere—simply the Reichskanzlei to the nth power, a terrible, bland renunciation.

Just as we learned to be grateful to Mussolini for making the Florence-Rome Express run on time, we learned by 1938 to thank Hitler for providing us (potential tourists) with great automobile roads. And strangely enough we are still grateful as actual tourists in uniform. The Autobahnen were never intended (as were the New York and New Jersey parkways)

*Hitler, with the architect Hermann Giesler, inspecting the model for the latter's Hitler-Youth school at Ordensburg-Sonthofen, (RIGHT) completed 1935-8. "Masonry in both field and cut stone is used in a fresh and pleasing manner . . . and the quarters are comfortable and attractive, although naturally colossal."*







*Wilhelm Kreis: projected memorial to be built in Russia honoring the soldiers who lost their lives in its conquest*

as pleasure-roads. Modeled on the American scheme, they were designed as strictly military highways, which were also used as intermittent air-strips which would enable the Wehrmacht to reach any of the national boundaries as fast as possible. They were useful to General Patton's 4th Armored Division for the same purpose, and probably accelerated the collapse of Germany by months.

The photographers have done well by the Autobahn. *Die Strassen des Führers* were pushed far enough ahead (though never completed) by 1939 to start the war. The photographs show them knifing straight or with a scimitar's lazy stroke across the open, empty German *Raum*; avoiding the cities, taking the graceful flank of hills, recklessly striding deep valley and swift stream. One can hardly judge the roads themselves in their present beat-up state. Most of the finest and largest bridges were destroyed in the face of our advance. The roads are run down, junctures of road-bed and bridge are invariably bumpy and poorly joined. The side roads feeding into the towns are not always well-designed or easily banked. There are some very impressive high bridge emplacements, with handsome masonry, the most striking perhaps coming from the offices of the two elder-generation industrial designers Wilhelm Tiedje and Paul Bonatz. But by and large the emphasis, even in the bridges, was on mass. Suspension and the cantilever were not admired. The only reference to American building in about ten years of the official review of architecture, merely shows the overemphasis on lightness in the Golden Gate Bridge, which resulted in the placing of a heavy pylon to support the mid-span, and a photograph of the collapse of the suspension bridge in Washington State, due to "formless insistence on antagonism to mass."

While the big party offices had, with bridges and schools, a secondary monument-prestige function, there was also in the last ten years, and particularly in the period 1928-1935, a considerable amount of purely honorific building. A State War Memorial Commission, operating under the Weimar Republic, was not only responsible for the big monuments in Germany, but also those in France, Belgium, Jugo-Slavia and Palestine. The civil and political wars of the Occupation of the Rhineland were remembered, as well as the so-called "Free Corps." Some of this work was beautiful, all of it restrained, more dignified, less decorative than the American equivalents

at Thiaucourt, Mont Sec, and Chateau Thierry. The German work was usually cut field stone, with little sculpture, recalling, in a contemporary expression, something of the spirit of the Gothic walls. Yet they never used anything as baldly reminiscent as the pointed arch, or an interior web of vaulting. Perhaps the finest of the Weimar Commission's work was the Annaberg (Silesia) tomb and amphitheater, which very much recalls Burnham Hoyt's Red Rock Amphitheater near Denver. S. A. Munzer's Marine Memorial at Laboe, near Kiel, a tall, thin, prow-like abstract blade of beautifully matched and delicately modulated brick, and Walter and Johannes Krüger's Tannenberg monument (1935, but designed long before)—a daring plan of dispersed brick blocks, like a kind of phantomic fortress—were the outstanding works; and thinking of the horrid weight of the Menin Gate for Britain, the embarrassing monument at Compeigne for France, and our own big Doric and Ionic jobs, one is forced to admit that here the German won. (They idiotically blew up Tannenberg in order to "prevent it from falling into the hands of the Russians.") As we have seen in the sculpture of the same epoch, Germans react powerfully to the idea of heroic death. Rodin could make a living Baccus, a living Claude Lorraine, as at Nancy, with the powerful steeds of genius supporting the delicate painter. There is no German monument to an artist or poet that one can recall. But they have done well with doomed collective mortality.

With the advent of Hitler it was something else again. Just as his painters and sculptors had no use for the gothic, his architects rejected any hint of it. The very theatrically effective Hans-Mallon memorial at Bergen auf Rügen was the single example realized of the ur-Aryanische Nordic Viking Hall. Hitler's memorials chose a different version of what was *Deutsch-Germanisch*. He skipped a generation and dragged up Wilhelm Kreis, who in 1906 had already started a stupendous career in the Bismarck Memorial near Dresden. This was boldly stolen from the tomb of Theodoric in Ravenna, a piece of late Roman building, which with the Hohenstaufen fortress at Castel del Monte and the Castel Sant'Angelo, for reasons unfathomable to man, have figured as the really *echt Deutsch* prototypes. It is ghoulish to look at the sketches and models for Kreis' projected memorials for the present war, the stones for Norway having already been cut by slave-labor

(Continued on page 240)





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The Afrika Korps would have had a vaguely Egyptian square fortress in the stoneless sands of Tobruk. The *Mahnmal* for Russia would have been a colossal mound, combining an enlargement of the Pyramid of Halicarnassus with a Piranesi crypt. Kreis' Soldaten Halle in Berlin would have had a shrine three times the scale and size of the Pennsylvania Station ticket-room, with a crypt to fit (taken wholly out of Gilly's unrealized memorial to Frederick the Great of 1796). There was no harm in letting old Kreis turn out his dismal renderings, but fancy if Hitler had won, and all of us would be dragging boulders up the steppes to provide giant pedestals for *Hoheitadlers*, to be perched like buzzards on every corner.

Hitler abolished roadside advertising, regulated signboards in villages, erected transformers that looked like farm-sheds and made filling-station and rustic rest conform with the consistent picturesqueness of the folkish landscape. He made efforts to maintain the provinces in a tasteful homogeneous consistency, and succeeded. Unquestionably this was a useful service, considering the disastrous disappearance of almost all the finest urban medieval domestic architecture with the loss of Mainz, Frankfurt, Nürnberg. The smaller towns are well kept and are remarkably like what they must have been when built. But there was no broad scale city-planning, no consideration of civic (as apart from party) centers. Nazi *Baukunst* was strictly for the *Partei*. In the introduction to the official monograph, the first issued to show what Hitler has built in seven years, we get the whole truth: "The epoch of liberalism (Weimar) dissolved any obligation for the consideration of the common good. This complete neglect of public order resulted in anyone building whatever he wanted, where, and when, and however." This untidy situation Hitler remedied to such a degree that even when the new Japanese Embassy opened in Berlin (Ludwig Moshhammer, 1943) it was discovered to be one more land-locked luxury liner in the school of Troost.

There is no question but that talented and experienced German architects exist. Some of them may even be under forty. Theirs is a task heavier than ever faced builders before. They will be given the work of recreating urban Germany at first on a semi-permanent basis, and eventually, although not for years yet, with permanent materials. All building, probably for a decade, will be perforce strictly functional. Like it or not, the Nazis will have to build in the international style, simply because it is cheaper.

In Würzburg, for example, there is already formulated a plan which may logically be followed in other cities. The center of the town, with the finest churches, Balthasar Neumann's Residenz and Tilmann Riemenschneider's Marienkapelle, has been grievously damaged. Much of the superb baroque building and interior design has been destroyed past restoration. The ecclesiastical monuments can be, to a degree, restored. They will be given open spaces around them, and one may in time derive a sorry satisfaction from the fact that it will be about the first time a tourist could actually walk around them and see what they look like, cleared of the accidental accretions of the ages. Miraculously enough, practically all the great churches, as at Caen, Strasbourg, Metz, and Rheims—in Trier, Mainz, Frankfurt, Bamberg, Landshut, Regensburg (although not in Nürnberg or Munich), have not suffered much worse damage in this than in earlier wars. The medieval cathedral attracted the market place, and the combination was the focus of town life. It probably remains so. The Catholic Church has a great responsibility, and from what



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LILA MOORE KEEN has had her unique flower studies published by the foremost print publishers of DeLuxe color studies. She is a member of the Savannah Art Association, The Atlanta Art Association, and the Association of Georgia Artists. Recently, Theodore Haviland, Inc. commissioned Miss Keen to paint some studies for reproduction on their fine china. Last year she directed the activities of American Art Week for the southern half of the State of Georgia—and she produced such outstanding results that she has been invited to become Director this year for the entire State. Miss Keen wrote from her Dublin, Georgia, studio:

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we have seen, a great desire to restore the cathedrals to their former glory.

But before any of the historic monuments can be touched the survivors must have shelter. In Würzburg, as in many other badly bombed towns, the areas on the edges of the town are least hurt. Buildings here will be rendered habitable, standing on the rim, and working in. The new shopping district will be redesigned with a whole new street plan, more sensible than keeping to the original, now lost, streets. The German cities had medieval hearts, parks taking the places of the ruins of ancient walls, then suburban extensions, and as in Munich if there was a river, fine use was made of it. Now, when you look at German cities you are imaginatively exhausted by the work entailed in simply moving the rubble, before any possibility of rebuilding exists. In many places, Trier, Frankfurt, above all Nürnberg, it would almost seem better to move somewhere else. This is hard psychologically. The Nazis would hold on to their ruins. It is all they have. As Hitler, who turned out to be so accurate a negative prophet, had warned: "When a people is extinguished and men are silent, the stones will speak."

## New Books

*Three Young Rats and Other Rhymes.* 85 Drawings by Alexander Calder. Edited and with an introduction by Jamie Johnson Sweeney. Curt Valentin, New York, 1944. \$12.50.

*The Drawings of Paul Klee.* By Will Grohmann. Curt Valentin, New York, 1944. Xv pp. and 72 plates. \$15.

*Henry Moore, Sculpture and Drawings.* With an Introduction by Herbert Read. Curt Valentin, New York, 1944. Xliv pp. 346 illustrations, 14 color plates. \$16.50.

CURT VALENTIN is outstanding among American dealers who have recently taken up and carried on the tradition of issuing fine editions (and at rather high prices) which characterized pre-war Paris as the international art market, and of which Vollard is the classic example. His Calder book has been prepared with a knowledge, an attention to detail, a material elegance of paper, typography and lay-out that give meaning to the phrase "luxury edition." Calder's drawings have the same lively wit, and the whole volume recalls the tone of his "Fables of Aesop," published in Paris in 1931. (Four of the drawings with the rhymes they illustrate were reproduced in the *MAGAZINE OF ART* for February 1945.) Jamie Johnson Sweeney selected and edited the verses in the same gay mood and has supplied a scholarly introduction on the significance and implications of the nursery rhyme tradition. The whole seems rather sophisticated for children, but will probably afford much enjoyment to their parents.

Of the three, it is only the Klee book which is in some measure disappointing, and this only perhaps in view of the high price. Like the others, it is a careful job, its usefulness enhanced by its portfolio format, and with the sheer delight one can always expect of Klee. It is actually a translation of a German edition of 1934, which was largely confiscated as "degenerate art." A certain dullness in the plates suggests that those of the present edition were made from the German one, of which a few copies were saved, rather than from



originals. It is rather disappointing too to find that the drawings are limited to the period 1921-1930 (a fact which the present title ought perhaps to indicate). The German edition by Mr. Grohmann's brief but highly sympathetic and comprehending introduction bears the note that it was planned as one of a series of three uniform volumes of Klee drawings; the drawings up to 1921 were planned for 1935, and those after 1930 were to follow later. This project had to be abandoned because of political conditions in Germany, but it still demands to be done. Both as an artist and as a force in modern art, Klee surely deserves a more complete publication and a clarification of his development from the amazing earlier drawings, which are not readily available in reproduction, to the almost seismographic sensitivity of this work of his mature years.

The Henry Moore monograph, prepared and printed in war-time England, nevertheless has several hundred illustrations and a truly magnificent presentation of his work, too little of which has been shown in this country. The sculpture is beautifully photographed; the whole book is governed by a rare intelligence and one turns its pages with a high sense of pleasure and gratitude. It does us the service of making it indisputably clear that Moore is one of the really great artists of our time, a master of the modern idiom who is able simply and powerfully to project that intense humanity which is almost what we mean by great art. In his characteristically fine introduction to the book, Herbert Read points out that Moore is essentially both a "public" and a "religious" artist in the sense that his art is, in Moore's own words: "a penetration into reality . . . not a decoration to life, but an expression of the significance of life, a stimulation to greater effort of living." The three essays by Moore reprinted in the volume indicate how highly conscious and informed his purposes and method are, and it is a sign of the real coming of age of modern art, which has been marked by such experimental diversity, that an artist like Moore is now able to draw upon all the various researches into primitivism and sophistication and to create a wholeness where simple forms express a vital spirituality.

The more or less accidental juxtaposition of Moore here with Calder and Klee is nonetheless a suggestive one and emphasizes how far our art has absorbed the modern conception of matter as dynamic and insubstantial. Calder's mobile sculpture is of course the most literal illustration of this, but even in Moore we find the open shapes—sometimes delimited by string—typical of contemporary sculpture, which so frequently finds concavities that suggest a shape, a more satisfactory expression than the creation of the shape in the round. But as a sculptor, Henry Moore is less concerned with physics in its more abstract hypotheses than he is with the physical laws which operate to create shapes in nature. When he creates a figure in stone it is not flesh he studies but the forms that stones, pebbles, take in nature, and it is thus that his figures live in the stone, as stone; that their meaning is self-contained and fully contained in the shape determined by the material; it is this that is meant by *organic* sculpture. Precisely this perception of and respect for the essential nature of things in Moore ennobles his shelter drawings with a rich and tragic humanity. Moore was rather driven back upon drawing during the war years by the lack of sculpture materials, but the wealth of drawings reproduced in this book are intensely moving, fully developed works of art for which we can only be grateful.

Henry Moore is a sculptor in the great classical tradition. It has been pointed out that in his long preoccupation with the

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"reclining figure" he has, so to speak, been restating the Theseus from the Parthenon pediments in the British Museum. But beyond this study, or perhaps because of it, is the absolute heroic dignity of all his work, which has made his *Madonna* for the Church of St. Matthew in Northampton (MAGAZINE ART, November 1944) one of the few positive affirmations of religious art in modern times. In the words of Herbert Read: "A sculptor of Henry Moore's scope cannot confine himself to the bibelots which are all that fall within the capacity of the individual patron of our time . . . his work must rise majestically above the agora, the assembled people."

*Charlot Murals in Georgia.* Introduction by Lamar Dodd, photographs by Eugene Payor, commentaries by Jean Charlot. University of Georgia Press, Athens, Ga., 1945. 11 illustrations. \$6.

"CHARLOT MURALS IN GEORGIA" is a demonstration of the enrichment the artist-in-residence can bring to a community. It is even more graphically a revelation of the problems the mural painter meets and how he must go about solving them. Jean Charlot is not only a highly conscious artist, he is an unusually good writer, with the result that his essay "Public Speaking in Paint," reprinted in this volume from THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and his comments on the three mural projects he executed in Georgia during his residence 1941-1944, constitute in effect a handbook of mural painting.

"Public Speaking in Paint" is a vivid statement of the conditioning factors in mural style; writing out of his experience as an artist, Charlot is able to convey to the reader an almost kinesthetic perception: ". . . the painter who paints from the shoulder tends to a large and monotonous sweep . . . less versatile than the trick motions of his finer tips. . . . Having no access to the emotional expression . . . of the autographic automatic brush writer, the muralist must find the outlet for his personality mostly in intellectual planning. . . ." Because of the size of the wall, and the piecemeal nature of the fresco method, the artist must work from a completed mental image, and again because of the scale and because of the necessary synthesis with the architecture, this must be primarily conceived as abstract and mathematical.

Considerations of perspective become important since the size and shape of the room determine the distance and angle from which the wall is seen. In the mural, which is to be viewed laterally from a diagonal side point, the figures tend to narrow, and therefore the use of unusually squat proportions will provide a more normal final effect. Where, on the other hand, a mural is seen close up and from below, figures tend to lose their verticality and compensatory elongation is called for. And since the large mural is often without sufficient space in front of it to be grasped all at once, the muralist must be a master of multiple perspective.

Fresco painting has as well its own rules of color and lighting: "Lime . . . disintegrates more blatant pigments . . . brings out the subtleties of earth colors." Impressionism is both lost in and minimizes heroic scale; local color is most effective: "a frontal, flat, diffused light . . . which best holds the object within the bounds of its own outline."

Despite the necessary dominance of geometry and design in mural composition, Charlot does not believe that abstraction is justified. Walls have a public function, and they should be "weighted with human significance." This is perhaps not the



place to question whether the tensions and balances of modern abstract painting are not as symbolically relevant to our concept of the world as the vines, birds, lambs, stags, and so forth of church decoration were to the early Christian and medieval periods.

However, "whatever the axe that the painter grinds it is his job to grind it fine." And it is this workman-like (in the very best sense) approach to the job that marks Charlot's comment on the three walls he decorated in Georgia: a mural panel in oil on canvas for the post office at McDonough, and frescoes for the Fine Arts and Journalism Buildings at the University of Georgia. This comment is in the form of a loose diary of the work, and especially in the case of the two frescoes—one on an exterior façade sheltered and to some extent obscured by a portico, the other in a rather narrow passage—it is fascinating to see how the problems of place are ingeniously coped with. The book is beautifully illustrated with drawings and photographs of the work in progress, some in color. The many details illuminate the bold clarity essential to mural style, but one rather misses more photographs of the whole walls taken at sufficient distance to show how the design functions *in situ*. All in all, however, the volume is not only handsome, it is an outstanding contribution to the literature of mural art.

—LIBBY TANNENBAUM.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In connection with research on the life and work of George Inness, 1825-1894, I should appreciate receiving any information as to the following lost paintings:

- Afternoon*, 1846, 38 x 40 in. Exhibited, American Art Union, 1846
- Landscape*, 1850, 24 x 20 in. In Lambert sale, 1916
- The Juanita River Near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania*, 1856, 36 x 54 in.
- Berkshire Hills*, early, 48 x 72 in. Hearn sale, 1918
- A Lighthouse off Nantucket*, 1879, 17½ x 25½ in. Sold to A. H. Alker from 1895 Inness sale
- Etrétat, Normandy*, 1874
- Penzance*, 1887
- Midsummer*, 1878
- Late Morning, Hudson River*, 1848? In Mrs. Peter W. Rouss sale, 1936

Also, information as to letters and similar material would be welcomed.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH McCausland.

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## AFA NEWS



*Hudson D. Walker, new AFA President.*

HUDSON D. WALKER was elected president of the American Federation of Arts at the May meeting of the trustees, succeeding Agnes Rindge, who resigned to resume her full-time activities as chairman of the art department of Vassar College. She will continue, however, to serve the Federation as a trustee and as a member of the editorial board of the Magazine. Harry L. Gage was elected treasurer, and the following new trustees were elected to the class of 1948: Matthew Woll, James Thrall Soby, Milton Lowenthal. Re-elected were Robert Woods Bliss, David E. Finley, Lloyd Goodrich, Grace L. McCann Morley, and Harry E. Schnakenberg.

Mr. Walker had been treasurer of the Federation since March 1944, when he became a trustee. Previously he had been identified in the world of art as the owner of the Hudson Walker Gallery in New York where the prints of Käthe Kollwitz and the paintings of Marsden Hartley were always to be found, and where the works of many young Americans were first shown. In 1940 Mr. Walker closed his gallery to accept his position with the Red River Lumber Company.

Born in Minneapolis in 1907, Mr. Walker attended public school there, and was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1928. From 1928 to 1930 he attended Harvard University, where he studied with Professor Paul Sachs and Alastair Burroughs. From 1930 to 1932 he was half-owner of the Goodman-Walker Gallery in Boston, which exhibited old master prints, and modern drawings, prints and paintings.

Since 1925 he has served as a trustee of the Walker Foundation of Minneapolis. He was also director of the Museum of Modern Art's Marsden Hartley exhibition in 1944. At present Mr. Walker is in Rome for the overseas branch of the OWI.



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# OCTOBER EXHIBITIONS IN AMERICA

All information is supplied by exhibitors in  
response to mailed questionnaires. Dates are  
closing dates unless otherwise specified.

**ABILENE, TEX.** Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 1-21: Coptic Textiles. (AFA)  
**ALBANY, N. Y.** Institute of History and Art. Oct. 3-28: The American Century—a collection of portraits.  
**ANDOVER, MASS.** Addison Gallery. Oct. 22: Drawings & Watercolors. Oct. 26-Nov. 26: State of Maine Architecture.  
**APPLETON, WIS.** Lawrence College Art Gallery. Oct. 21: "Definitions." (AFA)  
**ATHENS, O.** Ohio University Gallery. Oct. 1-31: Ohio University Alumni (pntgs & prints).  
**ATLANTA, GA.** High Museum of Art. Oct. 1-30: Exhib. of Work of the Faculty.  
**AUBURN, N. Y.** Cayuga Museum of Hist. & Art. Oct. 1-31: 8th Finger Lakes Annual Art Exhib., Local Industrial Exhibit, Early Drugstore Exhibit.  
**BALTIMORE, MD.** Museum of Art. Sept. 30-Oct.: War Against Japan. Sept. 30-Nov. 1: National Serigraph Exhib. Oct. 9-Nov. 18: Pntgs. by Pachita Crespi. Sept. 16-Oct. 14: Child Art in N. Y. Oct. 21-Nov. 11: What Is Modern Painting?  
**COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME.** Oct. 10-31: Chinese Woodcuts (AFA).  
**Walters Art Gallery.** Nov. 30: Ivory Carvings thru the Ages.  
**BIRMINGHAM, ALA.** Public Library Art Gallery. Oct. 1-31: Birmingham Art Club Jury Show.  
**BLOOMFIELD, MICH.** Museum of the Granbrook Academy of Art. Oct.: Contemporary Am. Pntgs.  
**BLOOMINGTON, ILL.** Illinois Wesleyan University. Oct. 1-30: Pntgs. by Kenneth Loomis. Oct. 1-30: Wesleyan Print Collections.  
**BLOOMINGTON, IND.** Indiana University. Oct. 15: Modern Self-Portraits. Oct. 20-Nov. 20: Medieval Art.

**BOSTON, MASS.** Boston Herald Book Fair. Oct. 8-22: New War Art by LIFE Mag. Artist-Reporters (AFA).  
**Boston Museum of Fine Arts.** Oct. 24-Dec. 9: Six Centuries of Landscape: East & West.  
**Public Library Print Dept.** Oct. 1-31: Illustrations to Dickens' works, original watercolors by KYD.  
**Vose Galleries.** Oct. 1-20: William Dean Fausett. Oct. 22-Nov. 10: Eng. 18 & 19 Century Pntgs. Oct. 1-20: Margaret Masson. Oct. 22-Nov. 10: Helen Blair.  
**BUFFALO, N. Y.** Albright Art Gallery. Oct. 3-31: Esther Goetz. Pntgs. Oct. 7-28: Buffalo Soc. of Artists.  
**CHAPEL HILL, N. C.** Person Hall Art Gallery, Univ. of N. C. Oct. 4-Nov. 4: Rental Collection from the Art Dept.'s framed prints.  
**CHARLOTTE, N. C.** Mint Museum of Art. Oct. 14-Nov. 6: 17th Century Dutch. Van Gogh prints, Elliott Daingerfield. Group Sculpture.  
**CHICAGO, ILL.** Art Institute of Chicago. Oct. 25-Jan. 1: 56 Annual Am. Exhib. of Oil Pntgs. Oct.: Richard Bowman & Russell Woeltz in the Room of Chicago Art. Craft Tradition in Am. Household Art.  
**Chicago Galleries Association.** Oct. 6-31: 25th Annual Associates.  
**Mandel Brothers' Galleries.** Oct.: Am. Primitives. Work of Nellie Deachman of Chicago.  
**Renaissance Soc. Univ. of Chicago.** Oct. 5-Nov. 3: Pntgs. & Prints by Rouault.  
**CLEVELAND, O.** Cleveland Museum of Art. Oct. 9-28: Pntgs. from "The Milwaukee Artists" Group.  
**CORTLAND, N. Y.** Cortland Free Library. Oct. 1-31: George Briggs one man show.  
**DALLAS, TEX.** Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Oct: Portrait of America. Oct. 21-Nov. 18: Historical Decorative Maps.  
**DAYTON, O.** Dayton Art Institute. Oct. 2-30: Local Artists Show.  
**DECATUR, ILL.** Art Center. Oct. 7-28: Contemporary Pntgs. from Walker Art Center collection (AFA).  
**DENVER, COLO.** Art Museum. Oct. 7-28: Mural Pntgs. from the Caves of India by Sarkis Katchadourian (AFA).

**DETROIT, MICH.** Detroit Institute of Arts. Oct. 6-Nov. 4: Built in U. S. A. Oct. 15-Nov. 15: Watercolors by Baron Maydell. Oct. 20-Nov. 20: Am. Birds & their Painters.  
**EAST LANSING, MICH.** Mich. State College. Oct. 21: Contemporary Canadian Art (AFA).  
**ELGIN, ILL.** Elgin Academy Art Gallery. Oct. 7-28: Reflections of the Am. Scene.  
**FORT WAYNE, IND.** Art Museum. Oct. 30: Magnavox Collection of Pntgs.—"Great Moments in Musical History".  
**GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.** Art Gallery. Oct. 3-29: Upjohn Collection of Am. Pntgs. "Your Doctor Speaks".  
**HAGERSTOWN, MD.** Washington County Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 1-31: The Artist and the Collector.  
**HARTFORD, CONN.** Wadsworth Atheneum. Oct. 15: Exhib. of work by Children's Art Classes. Oct. 2-Nov. 1: Peruvian Textiles. Oct. 16-Nov. 11: Sport in Art. Oct. 20-Nov. 18: 75 Latin Am. Prints.  
**HONOLULU, HAWAII.** Academy of Arts. Oct. 2-Dec. 2: Architecture in Hawaii.  
**HOUSTON, TEX.** Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 14-Nov. 4: 20th Annual Exhib. of Photography.  
**INDIANAPOLIS, IND.** Art Association. Oct. 23: Photographs of Early Am. Houses. Thru Oct.: Am. Rooms in Miniature by Mrs. J. Thorne.  
**KALAMAZOO, MICH.** Institute of Arts. Oct. 7-27: Oil Pntgs. by H. Janaszak. Oct. 7-27: Oil Pntgs. by Nina B. Ward.  
**KANSAS CITY, MO.** Art Institute. Oct. 31: Edward Laning.  
**Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery.** Oct. 29: Modern Fr. Pntgs.  
**LAWRENCE, KAN.** Thayer Museum. Oct. 7-28: Ships for Victory.  
**LITTLE ROCK, ARK.** Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 1-31: Fr. & Eng. Prints.  
**LOS ANGELES, CALIF.** County Museum, Exposition Park. Oct. 1-28: Amphibious Forces in the Pacific. Oct. 4-Nov. 1: Henry Lion Sculpture. Oct. 7-Nov. 18: 25th Annual  
(Continued on Inside Back Cover)





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NEW YORK 27, N. Y.



Exhib. Calif. Water Color Soc. Thru Oct. 18th Century Am. Furniture; Early Am. Glass; Eng. Porcelains & Pottery; The Arts of China; Eng. Silver.

**Wells Hafield Galleries.** Oct. 1-31: Modern Fr. Pntgs. from Renoir to Matisse.

**Wells Galleries.** Oct.: Hudson River School Am. Landscape.

**Foundation of Western Art.** Oct. 20: Annual Exhib. of Calif. Graphic Arts.

**LOUISVILLE, KY.** Speed Memorial Museum. Oct. 7-28: Contemporary Fr. Pntgs.

**ANCHESTER, N. H.** Currier Gallery. Oct. 25: Pntgs. by Gertrude Sweitzer and Eugene Savage. Jewelry by Johanna Van Ryn.

**ASSILTON, O.** Massillon Museum. Oct. 1-31: Oils by Emma MacRae. Oct. 1-31: Etchings & Lithographs by Ford & Tait.

**MEMPHIS, TENN.** Brooks Memorial Art Gallery. Oct. 5-29: Am. Pntgs. 1750-1850. Crafts by John Poore.

**ILWAUKEE, WIS.** Art Institute. Oct. 4-28: Modern Art in Advertising.

**MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.** University Gallery. Oct. 25: The Story of Flags. Oct. 1-28: Original Portraits—Time Mag. Covers.

**Walker Art Center.** Oct. 7: Pntgs in New Techniques by Eleanor Harris. Oct. 14: Marsden Hartley.

**ONTCLAIR, N. J.** Montclair Art Museum. Oct. 4-28: Memorial Exhib. of the May D. Murray Print Collection.

**USKEGON, MICH.** Hackley Art Gallery. Oct. 1-29: French Graphic Arts.

**ASHVILLE, TENN.** Museum of Art. Oct. 10-25: Work by Merchant Seamen of the United Nations (AFA).

**NEW LONDON, CONN.** Lyman Allyn Museum. Oct. 21: Carlos Merida, Mexican Costumes (AFA). Oct.: Work by Lyme Art Association.

**NEW ORLEANS, LA.** Isaac Delgado Museum. Oct. 6: Needlework Exhib. 100 Best Prints from Annual Salon. Oct. 7-Nov. 2: No Jury of Selection Exhib.

**NEW YORK, N. Y.** Argent Galleries. 42 West 57. Oct. 13: Sculpture and Black & White. Oct. 15-27: Portraits by Louise Lemp. Watercolors by Sacha Maurer.

**Audubon Artists.** 1083 5th Ave. Oct. 11: Open Exhib.

**Abcock Galleries.** 38 E. 57. Oct.: Pntgs. by 19th and 20th Century Am. Artists.

**Brooklyn Museum.** Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Oct.: Am. Pewter. Oct. 5-Dec. 10: Early Prints of the Miss. Muchholz Gallery. 32 E. 57. Oct. 2-20: Kurt Roesch. Opening Oct. 23: Roger de La Fresnaye.

**George Chapellier Gallery.** 48 E. 57. Oct.: Old Masters & Modern Original Pntgs. Oct. 25: 18th & 19th Centuries Eng. Landscapes.

**Collectors of Am. Art, Inc.** 106 E. 57. Oct. 7-31: Works purchased for members.

**Contemporary Arts.** Oct. 19: Pntgs. by Fried. Oct. 15-Nov. 2: Pntgs. by Pieck.

**Drey Gallery.** 11 E. 57. Oct.: Six Centuries of Art—Pntgs. & Sculpture.

**Galerie St. Etienne.** 46 W. 57. Oct.: Contemporary Am. Primitives.

**Galler Club.** 47 E. 60. Oct. 18-Nov. 5: Emily Dickinson. Mss. & first editions.

**Gardner.** 14 E. 57. Oct. 22: Otis Dogier.

**Julien Levy.** 42 E. 57. Oct. 9-30: Peter Miller.

**Julienfeld.** 21 E. 57. Oct. 20-Nov. 10: Pntgs by Frederick Serger.

**Metropolitan Museum of Art.** 5th Ave. & 82 St. Oct. 10-Nov. 25: Islamic Metalwork from the 8th to the 17th Century. Oct.: Prints & Drawings by Goya. Old Mexican Pottery from the Museum Collection.

**Middtown Galleries.** 605 Madison Ave. Oct. 31: Group Exhib. by Contemporary Am. Artists.

**Mitch Galleries.** 108 W. 57. Oct.: Pntgs & Watercolors by Am. Artists.

**Museum of Modern Art.** 11 W. 53. Thru Jan. 13: Exhib. of Museum's Coll. of Pntg and Sculpture. Oct.: Costume Carnival. Art for War Veterans. Oct. 10-Dec. 2: Elements of Design. Oct. 17-Feb. 3: Stuart Davis.

**Natl. Academy of Design Gallery.** 1083 5th Ave. Oct. 11: Audubon Artists 4th Annual Exhib. Oct. 16-Nov. 7, incl.: 30th Annual Exhib. of the Am. Soc. of Etchers.

**Larry Shaw Newman Gallery.** 150 Lex. Ave. Oct.: Exhib. of Am. 19th Century Landscape & Genre Pntgs.

**Vierordt Gallery.** 53 E. 57. Oct.: Forbidden Art of the 3rd Reich.

**Wassdott Gallery.** 121 E. 57. Oct. 13: Gouaches by Pvt. Maurice Gordon. Oct. 15-27: Pntgs. by Marjorie Schiele. Oct. 29-Nov. 17: Recent Pntgs by B. Nordfeldt.

**Wells Galleries.** 32 E. 58 St. Oct. 6: Recent Pntgs by F. Papsdorf. Oct. 8-Nov. 3: Recent Pntgs by Darrel Austin.

**Wells Museum.** 310 Riverside Drive. Oct. 1-Nov. 4: N. Y. Soc. Women Artists annual Group Show.

**Jacques Seligmann.** 5 E. 57. Indef.: 19th Century French Pntgs.

**Silberman.** 32 E. 57. Oct.: Pntgs by old & modern masters & early objects of art.

**Staten Island Museum.** 75 Suyvesant Pl. Oct. 11: Water colors by John Wanger. Oct. 14-Nov. 29: Artist members of the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences.

**Thannhauser.** 165 E. 62. Oct. 10 W. 8. Oct. 10: Exhib. of Whitney Museum of Art. Oct. 10 W. 8. Oct. 10: Exhib. of Works from the Permanent Collection. Oct. 16-Nov. 21: Ralph Earl Exhib.

**Wildenstein.** 19 E. 64. Oct. 24-Nov. 24: Camille Pissarro.

**NEWARK, N. J.** Art is of Today Gallery. 49 New St. Oct. 15: All Negro Art Show. Oct. 15-29: Capt. Wm. Hughes one man show. Oct. 29-Nov. 12: Murray Kusanobu—one man show.

**Newark Museum.** Washington Park West. Oct.: The United Nations. Am. Folk Pntg. The Art of the Potter.

**Rubin & Krueger Gallery.** 95 Halsey St. Oct.: Mark Rothman & August Mosca.

**NORFOLK, VA.** Norfolk Museum of Arts & Sciences. Oct. 21: 24th Nat'l Exhib. of Advertising Art (AFA). Oct. 7-28: Oil Pntgs by members of Norfolk Art Corner.

**OAKLAND, CALIF.** Mills College Art Gallery. Oct.: Permanent collection of Mills College.

**Oakland Art Gallery.** Oct. 7-Nov. 4: 13th Annual Exhib.

**OMAHA, NEB.** Soc. of Liberal Arts. Oct. 31: Army Forces Exhib. One Man Show by Marvin Cone.

**OSHKOSH, WIS.** Oshkosh Public Museum. Oct. 28: Water colors of Guatemala.

**PARKERSBURG, W. VA.** Fine Arts Center. Oct. 15: Old Masters—Chinese Craft. Oct. 7: Water colors. Lieut. Pat King. Photographs. Ellis. Oct. 15-31: Industrial Show.

**PHILADELPHIA, PA.** Am. Swedish Historical Museum. Oct. 21-Dec. 1: Oil Pntgs of the late Jonas L.e. Oct. 21-Jan. 1: Wood Carvings by the Charles Haag.

**Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.** Oct. 20-Nov. 25: 43rd Annual Water Color & Print Exhib. & 44th Annual Exhib. of Miniatures.

**Philadelphia Art Alliance.** Oct. 2-23: 5th special invitation annual illustrations by Mordvinoff. Oct. 2-21: Russian Facsimiles exhib. Nov. 9: Industrial Design by Sundberg & Ferar. Nov. 11: Oils by Henry O. Tanner. Oct. 23-Nov. 18: Gouaches by Ben Shahn. The Classics, The Camera, and the Contemporaries.

**Philadelphia Museum of Art.** Oct.: Picasso, Braque. Oct. 14-Nov. 18: Artists of the Phila. Press.

**Philp Ragan Associates.** Oct. 10-31: Prints by Peter Sager.

**PITTSBURGH, PA.** Carnegie Institute. Oct. 11-Dec. 9: Pntgs in the U. S. 1945. Oct. 11-Dec. 30: Current Am. Pntgs.

**PITTSFIELD, MASS.** Berkshire Museum. Oct. 2-31: Oils & Watercolors by Berkshire Business Men's Art League.

**POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.** Vassar College. Oct. 5-26: Prints by Paul Klee.

**PROVIDENCE, R. I.** Providence Art Club. Oct. 2-21: 3rd Annual Exhib. of Pntgs by Merchant Seamen. Oct. 23-Nov. 4: Etchings by Karnig Nalbandian.

**Rhode Island School of Design Museum.** Oct. 4-23: Fr. Revolution & Napoleonic Period.

**RALEIGH, N. C.** North Carolina State Art Society. Oct. 17: One-man show of Oil Paintings by Wm. C. Field.

**RACINE, WIS.** Charles A. Wustum Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 4-25: Power in the Pacific.

**RICHMOND, IND.** Art Association. Oct. 7-28: 50 Artists & Walkowitz (AFA).

**RICHMOND, VA.** Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 21: Paint ngs by Charles W. Hutson. Oct. 28-Nov. 14: British-Am. Good Will Exhib.



Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

**ROCHESTER, N. Y.** Memorial Art Gallery. Oct. 5-Nov. 4: Contemporary Trends in Today's Pntgs. Children as Artists—Annual Exhib. of work done in the Gallery Classes: The Arts & Crafts of Poland.

**ROCKFORD, ILL.** Rockford Art Association. Oct. 1-Nov. 4: Exhibit of oils from the Grand Central Galler'es.

**SACRAMENTO, CALIF.** Crocker Art Gallery. Oct. 23: Kaethe Kollwitz—Etchings. Oct. 31: Berenice Abbott Photographs. Sacramento Mineral Soc.

**SAGINAW, MICH.** Junior League of Saginaw. Oct. 9-27: Contemporary watercolors from the Collection of the Whitney Museum of Am. Art (AFA). Oct. 9-22: Work by a Selected Group of Artists Rep. in the '45 Annual of the Pa. Academy of Fine Arts (AFA).

**SAN ANTONIO, TEX.** Witte Memorial Museum. Oct. 7-28: 7th Texas General.

**SAN DIEGO, CALIF.** Society of Fine Arts Gallery. Oct. 5-28: Paintings by Fran Soldini. Oct. 1-25: Hand-loomed rugs. Oct. 25-30: Pntgs by David Vaughan. Oct. 1-7: Am. Watercolor Soc. Exhib.

**SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.** Museum of Art. Oct. 9-Nov. 4: Cuban Pntgs. Today. Oct. 23-Nov. 25: Watercolors by Charles Burchfield (AFA).

**SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.** Santa Barbara Museum of Art. Oct. 5-26: Retrospective Exhib. Oct.: Permanent Collection.

**SCRANTON, PA.** Everhart Museum of Science and Art. Oct. 30: Oils & Color Drawings. Fabrics by June Grott. Oils by Charles Ward. Prints by John Turner.

**SEATTLE, WASH.** Seattle Art Museum. Oct. 3-Nov. 4: 31st Annual Exhibition of Northwest Artists.

**SHREVEPORT, LA.** Shreveport Art Club. Oct. 15: E. Paxton Oliver. Oct. 16-31: Shreveport Art Club Exhib.

**SPRINGFIELD, MASS.** George Walter Vincent Smith Art Gallery. Oct. 7-28: Oil in Watercolor (AFA). Street Scenes. N. Y. & Boston. Oct. 13-27: A U. S. Sergeant Sees China.

**Springfield Museum of Fine Arts.** Oct. 21: Interracial Seminar based on Portraits of Famous Am. Negroes; "The Springfield Plan."

**SPRINGFIELD, MO.** Art Museum. Oct.: All Student Exhib.

**SYRACUSE, N. Y.** Museum of Fine Arts. Oct. 1-28: Oils & Watercolors by Cleveland Artists.

**TOLEDO, OHIO.** Museum of Art. Oct. 7-Nov. 25: The Landscape of France (pntgs.).

**TULSA, OKLA.** Philbrook Art Center. Oct. 2-Dec. 4: "Art in Religion." Oct. 2-Nov. 6: Associated Artists of Philbrook Annual.

**UTICA, N. Y.** Runson-Williams-Proctor Institute. Oct. 7-23: The Negro Artist Comes of Age (AFA). Oct. 7-28: Games & Dances of the Iroquois. Finnish Textiles by Marianne Strengell Dusenbury (AFA). Affection by Wm. Zorach. Lithographs by G. Paull.

**WASHINGTON, D. C.** Barnett-Aden Gallery. Oct. 31: Serigraph Portraits of Artists by Harry Sternberg (AFA).

**Corcoran Gallery of Art.** Oct. 21: Post War Plans for the City of Washington. Oct. 14: The Encyclopedia Britannica Collection of Contemporary Am. Pntgs. Oct. 28-Nov. 18: Sculpture & Jewelry.

**National Gallery of Art.** Oct. 7: New Acquisitions from the Rosenwald Collection.

**WEST PALM BEACH, FLA.** Norton Gallery & School of Art. Permanent: Norton Private Collection.

**WICHITA, KAN.** Board of Park Commissioners. Oct. 7-31: One-man show by Dwight Kirsch.

**Wichita Art Association.** Oct. 1-30: Wm. Dickerson—Oil-Watercolors. Bessie Beverlin Sullivan Botanical Watercolors.

**WOODSTOCK, N. Y.** Rudolph Galleries. Oct. 1-31: Sixth Annual, Pntgs. & Sculpture by Contemporary Woodstock Artists.

**WORCESTER, MASS.** Art Museum. Oct. 7: Power in the Pacific.

**YOUNGSTOWN, O.** The Butler Art Institute. Oct. 12-Nov. 4: Palmer Undersea Pntgs. Oct. 19-Dec. 9: Permanent Portraits & Figures. Oct. 14: Permanent Watercolors.

**ZANESVILLE, O.** Art Institute. Oct. 9-Nov. 8: Primitive Arts of the Southwest Pacific. Karl Kappes Memorial Exhib. Oct. 1-24: MAGAZINE OF ART Selection of Children's Books, 1944-45 (AFA).

## WHERE TO SHOW

**27TH ANN. EXHIB. OF THE ASSOCIATION OF OKLAHOMA ARTISTS.** Nov. 4-30. Oklahoma City, Municipal Auditorium. Open to membership only. Jury. Prizes. Media: Oil, watercolor, sculpture, prints and pastels. Membership open to resident Oklahoma artists. For information write Mrs. Chas. McCafferty, 210 N.E. 12th Street, Oklahoma City, Okla. Deadline for entries Oct. 23rd.

**NORTH CAROLINA ARTISTS, 9TH ANN. EXHIB.** Dec. 2-30, Person Hall Art Gallery. Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill. Work of N.C. residents, done since January 1944. Oils, watercolors, drawings, pastels, prints, and sculpture. Jury. Entry Blanks due by Nov. 24th. For information write Helene Tiranoff, Curator, Person Hall Art Gallery, U.N.C., Chapel Hill, N.C.

## DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL OPEN EXHIBITIONS—AUTUMN

The following is a list of open exhibitions for Autumn, 1945. It is arranged alphabetically according to states, and cities under state. The asterisk (\*) indicates that the exhibition is national in scope. Other exhibitions are limited to artists living in the region or state. No attempt has been made to list exhibitions which are local, or held by organizations of members only, unless membership is open.

### CALIFORNIA

- \* **CALIFORNIA SOCIETY OF ETCHERS**, 617 Montgomery Street, San Francisco. Annual: prints, November; all artists; \$2 entry fee for non-members.
- \* **CALIFORNIA WATERCOLOR SOCIETY**, 734 18th Street, Los Angeles. Annual: watercolor, Autumn or Winter; all artists.
- \* **OAKLAND ART GALLERY**, Municipal Auditorium. Annuals: oil, March; sculpture, May; watercolor, pastel, drawing print, October; all artists.
- \* **SAN FRANCISCO ART ASSOCIATION**, 800 Chestnut Street. Annuals: oil, tempera on panel, sculpture, Autumn; watercolor, pastel. (Spring; drawing, print, Winter; all artists.)

### ILLINOIS

- \* **ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO**, Michigan Avenue. Annual American exhibitions: oil & sculpture section, October; odd years, all artists. Watercolors & drawing section, October; even years, all artists.

### NEW JERSEY

- \* **MONTCLAIR ART MUSEUM**, Bloomfield and South Mountain Avenues. Annual: oil, tempera on panel, watercolor, pastel, drawing, prints, sculpture, November; artists born or living in New Jersey for last five years, three months of the year.

### NEW YORK

- \* **AMERICAN VETERANS SOCIETY OF ARTISTS**, 21 East 14th Street, New York City. Annual: oil, watercolor, prints, sculpture, November; members of Society & members of U. S. Armed Forces.
- \* **AUDUBON ARTISTS**, Michael M. Engel, Exhibition Chairman, 470 West 34th St., New York City 1. Annual: all media, Autumn; all artists.
- \* **SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ETCHERS**, 1083 Fifth Ave., New York City. Annual: metal plate media, Autumn; American artists.

### PENNSYLVANIA

- \* **ALLIED ARTISTS OF JOHNSTOWN**, 220 Haynes Street. Annual: oil, watercolor, prints, Autumn; natives or residents of Pennsylvania.
- \* **PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS**, Broad & Cherry Streets, Philadelphia. Annuals: watercolor & print, miniature, Autumn; (oil, sculpture, Winter.) By Invitation until further notice.

### RHODE ISLAND

- \* **PROVIDENCE ART CLUB**, 11 Thomas Street. Annual: oil, watercolor, drawing, etching, lithography, prints, sculpture, Autumn, all artists.

### WISCONSIN

- \* **WISCONSIN UNION, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN**, Madison. Annual: all media, including architectural design, November; open to artists residing in Wisconsin for three years including past year, or five years if now elsewhere, or having three years of college work at University of Wisconsin.



P A I N T I N G S  
19th Century French  
20th Century American



Reader on Rocks

Milton Avery

**DURAND-RUEL**

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